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# "L'art n'a pas de patrie?" Musical Production and Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Paris, 1940-1944

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Julie Ann Cleary, Ph.D.

University of Pittsburgh, 2019

Scholarship from various fields including history, Vichy studies, sociology, and musicology have dissected myths surrounding the Occupation of France (1940-1944), which fall into two generalities of total collaboration or total resistance. The reality lies in the middle, in which many individuals participated in resistance or collaboration in a variety of degrees. I argue that composing, performing, and listening to music are substantial resistant acts, using the resistance movements in Occupied Paris as a case study. This study has two overarching goals. The first is to examine *music for resistance*, or how music is used tactically to turn public opinion towards and to mobilize citizens for the French Résistance. The second is to study *music as resistance*, in which music frames the experiences of composers, performers, and audiences to understand life under oppressive regimes and imagine possibilities outside of its terror. Through music, the figures in this study maintain a sense of agency by meeting the abject horror of the Nazi agenda on their terms.

Utilizing James C. Scott's theory of public and hidden transcripts as mediated by Michel Foucault's analysis of power/knowledge formation, this dissertation analyzes the various ways in which resistance organizations and its members employ music to subvert and resist totalitarian regimes. Chapters 1 and 2 centers on the radio as a tool of the resistance and how listening is a resistance tactic. Chapter 3 analyzes how the Front national des musiciens uses the performance and composition of music as a resistance force, as expressed in its underground newspaper

*Musicien d'aujourd'hui*. Finally, Chapter 4 follows the lived experience of Elsa Barraine, a woman Jewish composer active in the resistance who understood Occupation through her engagement with her passion for music. Through this study, I produce a clearer understanding of how resistance groups during the Occupation of France utilized music as a real tactic for mobilization and resistance. I argue that resistance itself is a refusal to be subsumed by another, one that the individuals highlighted in this project risked both their careers and their lives to uphold.

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## 1.0 Introduction

"We refuse to betray… declare the musicians."[1]

After the Wehrmacht penetrated the gates of Paris on the night of June 10, 1940, life in France changed drastically and quickly. The country was divided in two: the Nazi-occupied northern zone that claimed Paris as its center; and the southern "free" zone governed by the collaborationist Vichy government under Maréchal Philippe Pétain. New German road signs appeared seemingly overnight around the city of Paris along with its new German occupants. All supplies were rationed including food, linen, fuel, and rubber.[2] Standing in the food ration line became the new pastime. The French economy plummeted as did overall morale. With a new curfew, Paris became a silent and dark city. The rubber shortage forced French citizens to trade rubber soles for wooden ones; the stark clicking of wooden feet was an audible symbol of the state of occupation.[3] The French police turned against its citizens at the service of the Nazis by raiding homes and businesses of suspected enemies of the new order. Undoubtedly, the most significant violence was against French Jewish citizens. The Vichy state adopted the Statuts des juifs first in October 1940 and again in June 1941, which set crushing constrictions on Jewish people in France by forbidding certain occupations and seizing their property.[4] This lead to the deportation of Jews

[1] "Nous refusons de trahir… déclarent les musiciens." *L'Université libre*, no. special, September-October 1940, Gallica Digital Archives, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), accessed 30 May 2016, May 2016. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k8789925/. All translations my own unless otherwise noted.
[2] Allan Mitchell, *Nazi Paris: The Story of an Occupation 1940-1944* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 6-7, 64-67.
[3] Ronald C. Rosbottom, *When Paris Went Dark: The City of Light Under German Occupation 1940-1944* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2014), 124.
[4] Claude Singer, "Statuts des juifs (1940-1944), France," *Encyclopædia Universalis,* accessed 17 March 2019, https://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/statuts-des-juifs-france/.

to concentration camps from both zones, amounting to 75,721 individuals. Only 2,567 would survive.[5]

Yet, the German invaders wished to maintain the appearance of "life as normal" in Paris. Museums, post offices, banks, and educational facilities opened and public transportation reinstated relatively quickly after the new regime settled in.[6] Theatres operated as usual for the 1940 autumn season; the ballet company at the Paris Opéra performed Arthur Saint-Léon's *Coppélia* on August 28, barely two months after the invasion.[7] Music served as a means of warming French audiences to German culture, as the invaders attempted to seduce the French by performing beloved German masterpieces with its best musicians. In a display of their influence, the 1940 fall season at the Opéra included performances of Beethoven's *Fidelio*, Mozart's *Figaros Hochzeit*, and Wagner's *Der fliegende Hollander*. Both Wagner's *Parisfal* and Strauss's *Der Rosenkavalier* were staged the following January.[8] *Tristan und Isolde* was performed on Wagner's birthday, May 22, 1941, and it was treated as a special event and featured Adolph Hitler's favorite French opera singers, soprano Germaine Lubin and tenor Max Lorenz. While many Parisians welcomed German music and attended these performances, many of the audiences were notably German. Throughout the Occupation, German audiences accounted for about six and a half million francs in opera ticket sales alone.[9]

As forcefully as the Germans offered their music to French audiences, they also actively censored and banned music by French composers. All musical works of national identity were

[5] Christopher Lloyd, *Collaboration and Resistance in Occupied France: Representing Treason and Sacrifice* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 23-24.
[6] David Pryce-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich: A History of the German Occupation, 1940-1944* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981), 22.
[7] Ibid., 24.
[8] Mitchell, 27.
[9] Pryce-Jones, 24, 28.

banned from any performance whatsoever. To merely whistle *La Marseillaise* in public became a punishable offense. Also, contemporary art music by young French composers and composers who had fled France (such as Igor Stravinsky, Darius Milhaud, and Sergei Prokofiev) were discouraged from public performance.[10] By excluding French works and composers in favor of German approved programs that supported the Nazi agenda, the age-old conflict between French and German culture resurfaced. For many French musicians, the stakes were higher than ever before, as this was no longer a competition between two rival cultures concerning mere aesthetics and abstract concepts or debates surrounding Wagner. The Occupation embodied the struggle to preserve a French cultural identity that was under threat by an invading regime. In 1914 the French composer Camille Saint-Saëns asserted in his essay *Germanophilie*: “Art, it has been said, does not have a country: this is absolutely false, art is directly inspired from the character of people. In any case, if art has no country, the artists do.”[11] These words echoed many times over throughout the Occupation.

In the debut edition of the underground newspaper *L'Université libre*, published in September 1941, various groups of French intellectuals, including doctors, authors, artists, and musicians voiced their dissent against the German Occupiers with a declaration under the title: “Never will the French bow their heads before the barbarians. Against the bloody terror instituted

[10] There is a bit of debate over exactly what music was banned during the Occupation and what was not, as it appears that no official decree was circulated concerning this ban. Movie producer Denise Tual recalled that banned music included that of composers mentioned above, as well as by composers who remained in the unoccupied zone, including George Auric, Francis Poulenc, and Jean Françaix. Tual's memory is contradicted, however, by historical evidence of performances of Auric, Poulenc, and Françaix's music in Paris. See Leslie Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013), 84, 85.
[11] “L'art, a-t-on dit, n'a pas de patrie: ce qui est absolument faux, l'art s'inspirant directement du caractè des peoples. En tout cas, si l'art n'a pas de patrie, les artistes en ont une.” Camille Saint-Saêns, *Germanophile* (Paris: Dorbon-Ainé, 1916), 21.

by the enemy and his lackeys: For the liberation of France: ALL PATRIOTS UNITE!"[12] This call to arms echoed General Charles de Gaulle's famous *Appel du 18 juin* over the British Broadcasting Company (henceforth the BBC) airwaves: "Whatever may happen, the flame of French resistance must not go out; it shall not go out."[13] While the feeling of resistance was fervent, how actual resistance manifested in many diverse forms. There was not a singular "French Resistance," but a multitude of factions with different plans for how to wrest France out from under the Occupation and different ideologies as to what the best path forward for the country's future.

These disputes stemmed from the very top of the French Résistance: Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt were wary in allying themselves with de Gaulle, as Churchill found him stubborn and Roosevelt felt he was only slightly better than his right-wing counterparts in Vichy. Although both recognized that the French Résistance would be considerably stronger under one unified leader, Churchill and Roosevelt often left de Gaulle uninformed about the movements of the Allied Forces. For example, they had only informed de Gaulle about the Invasion of Normandy on June 6, 1944, a few hours before the dawn.[14]

De Gaulle himself had difficulty trusting various groups who dedicated themselves to the Résistance. A fair number of members belonged to the well-organized French Communist Party, which he felt ideologically conflicted with his specific vision for post-occupation France. The sentiment was mutual from the communist groups towards de Gaulle.[15] It took de Gaulle well into 1943 to gather all the groups under the same bureaucratic umbrella. This effort was met with much

[12] "Jamais les Français ne courberont la tête devant les barbares. Contre la terreur sanglante instaurée par l'ennemi et ses laquais ; Pour la libération de la France : UNION DE TOUS LES PATRIOTES !" *L'Université libre*, no. special, September-October 1940, Gallica Digital Archives, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), accessed 30 May 2016, May 2016. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k8789925/.

[13] "Quoi qu'il arrive, la flamme de la résistance française ne doit pas s'éteindre et ne s'éteindra pas." Trans. Rosbottom, 201.

[14] Ibid., 206, 314.

[15] Ibid., 200.

opposition, particularly from the groups Combat, Libération, and Franc-Tireur et Partisans, which would eventually become one large organization, Mouvements Unis de la Rèsistance. Henri Frenay, the leader of Combat, disapproved of this regrouping as it took away agency from the "free agents" of the separate resistance organizations. However, de Gaulle felt it was a necessary action to be taken seriously by the Allied Forces.[16]

Though not as impactful as weapons, music still held a prominent role in the Résistance, and various resistance organizations employed music in a multitude of ways. Along with other French intellectuals of *L'Université libre*, a group of French musicians also declared their dissent under the title "We refuse to obey." This group, the Front national des musiciens (henceforth FNM), published its manifesto in its premier underground newspaper *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* and in April 1942 asserted its intentions:

> "[To] make possible a collective refusal to prostitute ourselves to the invader and his lackeys, we must be united and organized into groups. That is why it is urgent to form a committee of the NATIONAL FRONT of Musicians in every orchestra. If these committees know how to be vigilant and active, and know how and when to call for action, they will not only be able to organize passive acts of resistance, but will also go on active demonstrations of patriotism and love of liberty, all in hatred of barbaric racism. As an addition to a program, playing a piece whose content glorifies France, freedom, the brotherhood of peoples or the work of a non-

[16] Robert Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2015), 269-270.

Aryan composer can galvanize not only the audience but also cause ripple effects in a much wider circle."[17]

There are several themes contained within this short passage. Perhaps most prominent how music may invoke French ideals of liberty and patriotism, which, for the FNM, naturally opposes Germany's "barbaric nature." The underlining of the words "passive" and "active demonstrations" ("manifestations actives"), however, provide an interesting insight into how these composers imagined music could prove useful in the Résistance. Although the two phrases are contradictory, it also suggests that music can operate in different modes of resistant activities.

The entire purpose of the FNM seemed to be a quest for an answer to the question that Saint-Saëns had set out before: "L'Art n'a pas patrie?" Does art really have no country? This is a compelling question in the context of music, art, and resistance. How is music used to question and subvert power, particularly that of a foreign, fascist regime that endeavors to subsume the identity of the people they conquer? How is music employed as a mobilizing force that encourages audiences and creators alike to actively oppose and fight against their occupiers? How does musical listening and the processes of musical production act as a way to frame life under totalitarianism, as a way for individuals to negotiate their lives daily as well as for a nation to understand greater cultural trauma? Is musical creation in the context of oppression always political and resistant? Can listening, composition, and performance act as a substantial and

[17] "[Pour] rendre possible des refus collectifs de se prostituer à l'envahisseur et à ses valets, il faut être unis et groupés. C'est pourquoi il est urgent de constituer dans chaque orchestre un comité de FRONT NATIONAL des Musiciens. Si ces comités savent être vigilants et actifs, savent lancer le mot d'ordre juste à chaque occasion, ils pourront non seulement organiser la résistance passive, mais encore passer à des manifestations actives de patriotisme et d'amour de la liberté, de haine du racisme barbare. Le fait de jouer comme supplément à un programme un morceau dont le contenu glorifie la France, la liberté, la fraternité des peuples ou encore l'ouvre d'un compositeur non aryen, peut galvaniser non seulement les assistants mais soulever un écho enthousiaste dans un cercle beaucoup large." *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, no. 3, April 1942, MRN. Underlining in original.

effective means of resistance? These are only a few questions I will explore in this project dissertation the greater study of musical resistance in Paris under the Occupation.

This study concerns a dark and trying period in French musical and cultural history that seems ever relevant today. Art and music are politically imbued objects by the very virtue of their creation; as they are formed in particular political contexts by individuals who have certain political ideologies. The Nazi Occupation of Paris serves as a prime example of this concept. During this period of occupation, listening to, composing, and performing music were politically charged and at times controversial activities in which French citizens demonstrated their attitudes in favor of or against the new regime. Therefore, this study has two overarching goals. The first is to examine *music for resistance*, whether in the employment by French resistance forces as subversive tactics against the Nazi occupiers or for the mobilization of citizens. The second is to study *music as resistance*, in which musical resistance frames the experiences of composers, performers, and audiences in understanding life under fascist regimes. Through several case studies of the musical resistance in Paris, I argue that individuals shift between two modes of public and private resistance to survive and understand their experiences of the world around them.

## 1.1 Archival Materials and Methodology

The archival materials gathered for this project are comprised of a wide range of sources, including underground newspapers, radio programs, personal letters, and notes discussing resistance tactics. These materials come from four archives which I had visited in the summers of 2016 and 2017. A complete description of the documents used in this dissertation, including

reference number and access dates, can be found in Appendix A.[18] These documents demonstrate the means in which organizations utilized music composition and performance as tactical resistance, including swaying opinions of audiences via propaganda, demonstrating a collective identity separate from the Occupiers, and blocking out competing information from the Occupiers and the state. Other documents demonstrate how listening and musical composition help frame the experience of fascism and to maintain a sense of hope and resistance.

What is particularly interesting about the documents I consult for this study is what types of information various scholars draw from it. I conduct a very thorough and critical reading of the archival documents to both offer new information to scholarship but also draw out new narratives of occupation. For instance, in Chapter 4 I analyze a series of eighty-two letters between resistance member Elsa Barraine and her friend Louis Saguer, which are readily available on microfiche in the music department at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. While many scholars are aware of these letters, only one letter from April 1943 is usually referenced. By closely reading all the letters, I uncover Barraine's personal and traumatic narrative of her experiences under occupation and how she uses music to personally resist. Similarly, I found new archival material in the massive Pierre Schaeffer archive held at the Institut mémoires de l'édition contemporaine during my visit in 2017 that demonstrate how Schaeffer's radio drama, *La Coquille à planètes*, was presented as a resistance work after the Libération. Although it is not an archival document, the existence of the drama is usually briefly noted in scholarship without a critical examination. What is missed, then, is a dramatization of Schaeffer's existential crisis that he experienced during the Occupation in his move from working for the state to the Résistance. Furthermore, the drama presents how important

[18] The reason Appendix A includes access date is in the case the archive reorganizes and re-categorizes its documents. Unfortunately, I wasted a couple days at one of the archives because the text I had consulted used out of date reference numbers. I hope that researches in the future will have an easier time when consulting my work.

the narratives surrounding the Résistance were in post-Occupied France. In closely reading these documents, I draw out important narratives of the Occupation to demonstrate how experiences translate into tactics. This is compared to the resistance material promulgated by the BBC and the FNM, which, although these organizations promoted a specific narrative, serve as an instructional purpose of how to carry out resistance acts and how to not support the enemy.

Because the archival documents relate to either the tactics used by resistance organizations or the personal lives of resistance members, it is apparent to me that these two perspectives of public and private resistance influence one another. To this end, political scientist and anthropologist James C. Scott's theory of public and hidden transcripts is useful in understanding how these two modes interact with each other. In his 1990 seminal text *Domination and the Art of Resistance*, Scott criticizes Antonio Gramsci's theory that cultural hegemony creates deferential subjugated people and instead posits that subjugated peoples are completely aware of their exploitation.[19] Subjugated peoples may seem deferential towards those in power by performing what Scott calls the "public transcript," or the socially acceptable ways people act and speak in public as to not offend those in power. However, behind closed doors and away from the eyes and the ears of the ruling regime, this same group of people behave quite differently by enacting the "hidden transcript." The hidden transcript is the initial site of resistance, in which people recognize themselves apart from those in power and envision a world without the hegemonic power structures (or "negates" the realities of the public transcript, even if temporarily).[20] Scott claims,

[19] Bengt G. Karlsson, "Evading the State: Ethnicity in Northeast India through the Lens of James Scott," *Asian Ethnology* 72, no. 2, Performing Identity Politics and Culture in Northeast India and Beyond (2013): 325.
[20] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Art of Resistance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 111-112.

"[The] social spaces where the hidden transcript grows are themselves an achievement of resistance; they are won and defended in the teeth of power."[21]

Similarly, those at the top of the power dynamics also have public and hidden transcripts. The power relations between both the dominant and the subjugated are played out through the interaction of their public transcripts.[22] By the end of the text, Scott explores what happens when the hidden transcript becomes public and touches on, albeit briefly, how sentiments contained in the hidden transcript have the potential of forming social movements that can enact change. Scott explains, "The first public declaration of the hidden transcript, then, has a prehistory that explains its capacity to produce political breakthroughs… When the first declaration of the hidden transcript succeeds, its mobilizing capacity as a symbolic act is potentially awesome."[23] The public and the hidden transcripts in Scott's theory influence each other, especially when it comes to enacting political change. The site of resistance, though, has moved into the public realm and is no longer a private act. Unfortunately, this is where Scott concludes; he does not expound on how the public and the hidden transcripts continue to interact in the development of a social movement.

[21] Ibid., 119.
[22] Ibid., 13.
[23] Ibid., 226, 227.

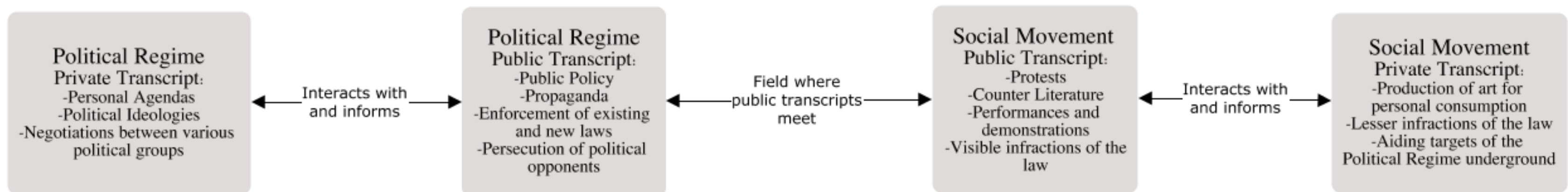


**Figure 1. Public and Private Transcripts of Political Regime and Social Movement**

Figure 1 demonstrates how the public and private transcripts interact for both the dominant power and the opposing social movement. This figure is based on Scott's model but altered to accommodate for the private transcript of a social movement. To connect this model to the power dynamics of Germany and Vichy France's relationship with that of the French Resistance, those entities may be represented as the Political Regime and Social Movement categories. In Scott's theory, the political regime makes an effort to appear consistent in its messaging and its actions. For example, the French police in the Northern Zone actively carried out the orders of the occupying Germans by deporting Jewish citizens and raiding homes, demonstrating the enforcement of publicly known policy. In the south, there were negotiations of power in the private transcript played out between Vichy France and Nazi Germany. Vichy France for a while used the deportation of Jewish citizens as a bargaining chip with Germany for a sense of autonomy in the power dynamic; when that resource was depleted, it shifted to deporting Résistance members.[24] This quickly became moot, however, as Germany would occupy France completely in 1942, which assured that Germany would control public messaging and policy enforcement.

The public transcript of the Social Movement is what one would expect to see in public: protests, demonstrations, performances, and so on that clearly voice opposition to the ruling power. And despite the Occupation, such actions did manifest in Paris; often cited are the group of 150 young French citizens who loudly sung *La Marseillaise*, a banned musical work, at the Place du Chateau Rouge.[25] Even the presence of a social movement may encourage other citizens to engage in resistant activity, such as breaking curfew or whistling the national anthem in the presence of police officers and German soldiers. Of course, these activities are easily quantifiable and

[24] Kelly Jakes, "La France en Chantant: The Rhetorical Construction of French Identity in Songs of the Resistance Movement," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 99, no. 3 (August 2013): 321.
[25] Ibid., 324.

identifiable as resistance, but locating resistance in the private sphere is more difficult to determine. In many ways, the private transcripts of both the Political Regime and Social Movements potentially appear similar to one another, as ideology, belief systems, and personal agendas are motivation for any given action in an individual's life. Therefore, I have refrained, for the most part, of reiterating this within the model. What one could expect in the private transcript of the social movement are secret infractions of the law, such as listening to illegal radio in one's own home or hiding and abetting Jewish neighbors and friends. This project explores how music is used within these two modes (music for resistance and as resistance) and how these two modes interact with one another.

As useful as Scott's work is to think about why social movements are formed, it is important to note that, while he is critiquing Gramsci's notion of hegemony, Scott is still observing a hegemonic model. Occupations, on the other hand, do not necessarily fit into the hegemonic model, as the invading regime suddenly takes over the existing sociopolitical structure. In the case of the Nazi Occupation, French people understood immediately that they were subjugated to a new regime, and, as a result, many participated in the formation of the resistance movement. But if this is the case, why would *all* of France not immediately revolt?

We may mediate this issue by turning to the analyses of power and knowledge by Michel Foucault. As is well known, Foucault spent much of his philosophical career exploring the historical emergence of practices through a process called genealogy. A genealogical approach requires the analysis of power relations to examine how practices on the social hegemonic scale come into being.[26] In a word, the practice that Foucault is most interested in is how people allow

[26] Brad Elliott Stone, "Genealogy," in *Understanding Foucault, Understanding Modernism*, ed. David Scott (New York: Bloomsbury Academic and Professional, 2017): 245.

themselves to become subjugated. At the core of this issue is fascism and the creation of the individual subject.[27] In his work Foucault explores this issue in a variety of scenarios, including carceral institutions, hospitals, and through an analysis of the emergence of sexuality.

Foucault's main concern is disciplinary practices that are forced upon subjugated peoples, which encourages them to act in accordance with the disciplinary power and in which people are made to become "docile and useful individual and collective bodies."[28] This is done through a variety of micromanaged methods foisted upon bodies, with the ultimate goal of creating the "individual" through systems of classification and cemented by surveillance. If the ultimate goal of the disciplinary power is to create functioning members of society who are both politically and economically useful to the governing body, then one strategy in encouraging this subjugation is by indicating deviance in comparison to "normal" people.[29] This deviance comes in the classifications of minorities, who are the ones that experience disciplinary actions that are meant to enforce regulation. Foucault observes this in the treatment of prisoners in the carceral systems, primarily in his seminal text *Discipline and Punish*. Foucault uses the example of public execution to demonstrate how the treatment of prisoners creates a docile social body. The "spectacle" of observing a prisoner tortured and executed among the public acts as an impactful reminder of why people should remain obedient. He states, "Not only must the people know, they must see with their own eyes. Because they must be made to be afraid; but also, because they must be the witnesses, the guarantors, of the punishment."[30]

27 Kevin Thompson, "Forms of Resistance, Foucault on Tactical Reversal and Self-Formation," *Continental Philosophy Review* 36 (2003), 113-114.
28 Christopher Penfield, "Carceral, Capital, Power: The 'Dark Side' of the Enlightenment in Discipline and Punish," in in *Understanding Foucault, Understanding Modernism*, ed. David Scott (New York: Bloomsbury Academic and Professional, 2017): 98.
29 Thompson, 124.
30 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1995), 57-58; in Penfield, 101.

As such, the treatment of minorities is quite significant to the subjugation of people. In this light, we may see how even though French people may have been aware of their new subjugation they did not revolt. For they saw the consequences of deviance as demonstrated through the disciplinary treatment of Jews, communists, and resistance fighters, as will be explored further in the chapters of this project. Foucault does believe that resistance against such power structures is possible, and power structures are never without resistant forces. The two depend on one another; he says, "[Where] there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power."[31] Kevin Thompson interprets this to mean that power is relational to its oppositional forces, in a way similar to Scott's theory.[32] Foucault believes that the critique of the treatment of minorities is where resistance movements are formulated.[33] However, Foucault is also very suspicious of resistance movements, as he envisions that resistance without the intention of overturning the infrastructure of power risks reifying that structure.

Foucault's theory concerning how resistance emerges may help in understanding the "*R*esistance" (public) and "*r*esistance" (private) that I explore in this project. The first and perhaps more common type of resistance Foucault identifies is a "tactical reversal," or direct conflict with the ruling power to overturn it. Resistance movements in this sense seek to replace the "ascending force" which it engages with; according to Thompson, "its only options are to comply or refuse the challenge," leaving no room for investigating or reimagining alternative means of existence.

[31] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Random House, 1978), 95; in Thompson, 117.
[32] Thompson, 117.
[33] Penfield, 108.

This is problematic for Foucault, since the resistance movement may (and often does) recreate the structure it seeks to replace.[34]

His preferred and ideal means of resistance, then, is through the “care of self,” or self-formation. This type of resistance allows people to create themselves not in the guise of individualism by governing powers, but to formulate new “non-fascistic subjectivities.”[35] This type of resistance is not created in the negative, but as an alternative to the norm: to be allowed to come to an understanding of one’s placement in the world in the existential sense, not merely as a functioning member of society. The “care of self” form of resistance allows for both autonomous and collective formation, in which Foucault envisions a self-governing body that allows individuals to emerge into themselves through transformation, not through fear.[36] This is a fairly optimistic and utopic vision of what *could be*, but not of what *is*.

I do think that this is at the core of music “for” resistance versus “as” resistance. In the first case, music is used to further the resistance movement as a tactic. In the latter, music is used in a more personal manner, a way of understanding oneself in the context of the world around the musician. Through music, the subjects in this study find new ways to imagine themselves outside the reality of oppression; it is critical to understanding why one would perform, compose, or listen to music, or engage with any type of art, in the dark period of occupation. It is important to note that the case studies of my project are not perfect representations of either Scott or Foucault’s theories of power relations. Instead, I find them useful in understanding how the subjects of this study operate and why they make the decisions they do, whether it is tactical choices for resistance

34 Thompson, 120.
35 Ibid., 124.
36 Ibid., 132.

movements, engaging with the occupying powers and the state through means of collaboration, or composing pieces that could never be performed while under occupation.

The last aspect that needs to be addressed, then, is the public face of resistance members when they are not outwardly representing the Résistance. Both Scott and Foucault provide insight as to why individuals, including resistance members themselves, participated in various degrees of collaboration with the state and even the occupying Nazi forces. However, "collaboration" is more sophisticated beyond merely acting or fear. Believing that anyone who collaborated with the enemy, even in small actions, was a traitor held dire consequences for those charged. Following the Libération, women suspected of having intimate relationships with German soldiers infamously had their hair shorn in Paris as an act of public humiliation, whereas men who were suspected of similar indecencies were executed behind closed doors.[37] There are many reasons why any one person may have worked with the invading regime; historian Philippe Burrin re-conceptualizes collaboration by analyzing the context of that collaboration. In some cases, he argues, collaboration was not an enthusiastic choice, but a "necessary, lesser evil" that could be more thought of as "accommodation." Burrin posits that this is why even people who worked for the resistance efforts maintained a day job with collaborating organizations.

After all, one still had to bring home a paycheck and keep up appearances, as to not bring suspicion to their clandestine work.[38] Musicologist Cécile Quesney praises this perspective as breaking out of the resistance-collaboration dualism that has been present in histories of the Occupation since the Libération, but she views accommodation not as a third action people may

[37] Rosbottom, 350-352.
[38] Philippe Burrin, *Living with Defeat: France Under the German Occupation, 1940-1944*, trans. Janet Llyod (London: Arnold Publishers, 1996), 1-2.

have taken but as a status somewhere on the resistance-collaboration continuum.[39] Burrin later expounds on this point, stating that the rejection of collaboration did not immediately manifest into resistance; rather, a large majority of French people fell into passivity in which they privately hoped for an English victory and otherwise saw future past occupation.[40] To stress the difference between passive collaboration (or accommodation) and full collaboration, musicologist Jane Fulcher introduced a new term, "ultracollaborationist." To be "ultracollaborationist" means that one is ideologically aligned with the Nazi agenda.[41] By doing so, Fulcher makes a clear delineation of those who actually supported the Nazis and the Occupation, separate from opportunists who worked for the state to further their career (or from those who embraced the presence of German music) and those who passively collaborated with the state out of necessity. I keep these degrees of collaboration in mind as I explore the different narratives of the individuals in this study to explain the actions some people took that may have contradicted their mission of resistance.

## 1.2 Literary Review

### 1.2.1 The Occupation of France and Music

Literature on the Occupation of France, music during the Occupation, and music and resistance have appeared with increasing frequency over the last ten or so years. New accounts of

[39] Cécile Quesney, "Compositeurs français à l'heure allemande (1940-1944): Le cas de Marcel Delannoy," Ph.D. diss., Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2014, 79.
[40] Burrin, 187.
[41] Jane Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity: Musical Culture and Creativity in France during Vichy and the German Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 31.

the Occupation and the role and impact of the French Résistance that have been recently published include *Voices from the Dark Years: The Truth about Occupied France 1940-1945* by Douglas Boyd (2007), *Nazi Paris: The Story of an Occupation 1940-1944* by Allan Mitchell (2008), *When Paris Went Dark: The City of Light Under German Occupation 1940-1944* by Ronald C. Rosbottom (2014), and *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance* by Robert Gildea (2015). These new histories seek to parse the narratives surrounding this very confusing and frightening moment in French history in which two myths tend to dominate: either all of the French were enthusiastic collaborators with their invaders and actively worked to sell out Jewish citizens, or all defied their occupiers in some way, either by hiding those most at risk of deportation or through participating in the French Résistance.[42]

Scholarship on music and the Occupation is also mostly concerned with these myths. Several focus on how musicians in France navigated the line separating resistance and collaboration as a means of survival. Historian Myriam Chimènes, director of research at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), is a prominent scholar of French music of the two World Wars. In addition to her literature on specific composers such as Henry Barraud, Darius Milhaud, and Francis Poulenc, two collections of essays under her direction have recently been published: *La vie musicale sous Vichy* (2001) and *La musique à Paris sous l'Occupation* (2013). These two collections cover a wide range of topics, but Chimènes's contribution to the collections centers specifically on the role of collaboration. In *La vie*, Chimènes focuses on conductor Alfred Cortot's role as a collaborator. Cortot supported the German Occupation and the Vichy government, and by June 9, 1940, was named the Haut-commissaire aux Beaux-Arts, a position that had considerable power behind it. Not only was he in charge of the Conservatoire,

42 Mitchell, 3.

but Cortot also presided over auditions for the Radio Nationale and nominations to the Opéra Comique.[43] Chimènes's study is an investigation into the ideology behind Cortot's policies as a collaborator and the consequences that these policies may have had.

Her work in *La musique* focuses even more closely on the blurred lines between collaborator and resistance through the concerts at the Pléiade. These concerts were sponsored by the *Nouvelle revue français*, a publication that after the Libération would be accused of being collaborationist. Young French composers were mainly featured in these concerts, some of whom were supporters of the Vichy government (for example, composer Jean Françaix), some of whom were members of the FNM and the Résistance (including Georges Auric and Francis Poulenc), and some of whom were targeted by the government (including Olivier Messiaen, Igor Stravinsky, and Nadia Boulanger, the latter two of which fled France before the Occupation).[44] Les concerts de la Pléiade were by invitation only and audiences consisted of the social elite of France as well as some German diplomats.[45] While Chimènes's study does not specifically talk about the FNM, it does show the difficult position many of its members encountered as musicians in the Occupation.

Musicologist and fellow CNRS researcher Karine le Bail recently published *La musique au pas: Être musician sous l'Occupation*, an incredibly thorough account of musical life in Occupied France.[46] Le Bail explores themes of collaboration and antisemitism in music and radio. She devotes one very short chapter to the resistant work of the FNM, although she does not give

[43] Myriam Chimènes, "Alfred Cortot et la Politique musicale de Vichy," in *La vie musicale sous Vichy* (Paris: Éditions complexe, 2001), 36, 39.
[44] Myriam Chimènes, "Les Concerts de La Pléiade: La musique au secours de la sociabilité," in *La musique à Paris sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Les Éditions Fayard, 2013), 46.
[45] Ibid., 50.
[46] I am very grateful to musicologist Philippe Cathé of L'Université Paris-Sorbonne for recommending this text to me along with some other works and for putting me in contact with his former advisee, Cécile Quesney. See Karine le Bail, *La musique au pas: Être musician sous l'Occupation* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2016).

much attention to themes of resistance in the members' musical works beyond how some of the lyrics echo sentiments expressed in *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*. Her study, however, does provide a very detailed structure of the FNM, describing the functions of each position. Le Bail also very aptly points out the problematic elitism inherent within the FNM, which cared more about composers (creators) and less about the performers (laborers) that it—at least publically in its newspaper—claimed it wanted to protect. Elsa Barraine admitted to such a hierarchy in a letter when she later claimed that the FNM compositions exemplified "courageous attitudes" more than concrete actions did.[47]

Le Bail's text follows much of the foundational work completed by historians Guy Krivopissko and Daniel Virieux, both of whom work at the Musée de la Résistance nationale (MRN), as well as musicologist Nigel Simeone. Krivopissko and Virieux have access to the archival material that I examine in this project, and so they provide detailed accounts of these documents in their chronological study of the FNM.[48] Their accounts, though, act more as a way to showcase the material that the MRN holds rather than critically examining the role of resistance in the FNM and the music that it produced.[49] Musicologist Nigel Simeone provides a very similar historical account to Krivopissko and Virieux (he cites them often). In his analysis of Poulenc's *Les Animaux modèles*, Simeone argues that although Poulenc's work did not start as a resistance work (having started the work in 1937), certain resistant idioms is manifested in its composition

[47] Ibid., 180, 183.
[48] This was a wonderful opportunity because the MRN archives are currently under construction until 2018, and I, along with other scholars, was given a one-day exemption to have access to these documents. I am very grateful to the staff at MRN who were very hospitable and charitable during my visit and were willing to work with me.
[49] Guy Krivopissko and Daniel Virieux, "Musiciens: Une Profession en résistance?" in *La vie musicale sous Vichy*, edited by Myriam Chimènes (Paris: Éditions complexe, 2001), 349.

through the ballet's setting in seventeenth-century France and by quoting the revanchist song "Vous n'aurez pas l'Alsace et la Lorraine!" in front of his German audience.[50]

The most recent scholarship focusing on the musical world from during the Occupation is Jane Fulcher's 2018 text *Renegotiating French Identity: Musical Culture and Creativity in France during the Vichy and German Occupation*. Fulcher expands on the conversation begun by the previous scholars by examining closely examining the activity of several of the most prominent French musicians of the period, including Pierre Schaeffer, Francis Poulenc, Arthur Honegger, and Olivier Messiaen. Focusing on the first two years of the Occupation and trajectory of Vichy France into further collaboration, Fulcher analyzes how musicians reacted to the cultural policies of the Vichy regime and how it participated in the creation of a new national identity.[51] (pp. 13-14). By focusing on reactions to Vichy's policies, Fulcher does a great service to music scholarship by parsing through common narratives of certain composers, especially of Honegger and Poulenc. For a long time after the Libération, Honegger was lauded as a Résistance figure when in reality he actively promoted Vichy and German propaganda.

However, instead of assigning blame on these actions, Fulcher exposes the various motivations and incentives these musicians held that encouraged them to work within existing cultural institutions. The subjects of this study confronted difficult choices concerning their personal musical identities and as they attempted to withstand occupation, especially in a political context that was constantly changing its goals and visions for France. While I do appreciate Fulcher's new perspective on exploring the cultural ramifications of the Occupation, I do wish she chose instead to highlight lesser discussed musicians instead of these twentieth-century monoliths.

[50] Nigel Simeone, "Making Music in Occupied Paris," *The Musical Times* 147, no. 1894 (Spring 2006): 41.
[51] Fulcher, 13-14.

There were many musical individuals greatly affected by the cultural policies imposed on them. Though she does offer some time to these other composers, such as Claude Arrieu and Claude Delvincourt, it is within the context of her main subjects.[52] Aside from Schaeffer, who has a chapter dedicated to his activity during the Occupation in this project, I endeavor to highlight the activity of other composers and musicians in exploring how they viewed the activity of resistance in their own lives.

### 1.2.2 Social Movement Theory

Social movement literature tends to specifically discuss the tactics employed to help a social movement group obtain its goal, whether through recruitment and education, collective identity formation, or the sustainment of a movement during times of conflict or periods of abeyance. Sociologist Jeff A. Larson articulates the degree of thought that goes into any social movement's tactics. Traditional social movement theory has tried to rationalize deliberate tactics that are enacted. Larson, though, argues that tactics are not always thought out in a methodical, rational way, but sometimes are irrational and sporadically enacted. He claims, "The tenants of rationalism predict that in the face of failure, tacticians will adapt. However, many do not… More than likely, activists believe they will be effective, but these beliefs are often based on incomplete and potentially misleading information."[53] This information is then interpreted by the activist's own subjective experience and the situation they are in.

[52] I have written a full review on Fulcher's new text for *Notes, Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association*, which is expected to be published sometime in 2019.
[53] Jeff A. Larson, "Social Movements and Tactical Choice," *Sociology Compass* 7 (2013): 871.

This concern over rationality and usefulness was voiced by the composers of the FNM. After publishing four issues of its underground newspaper, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, the editors found themselves in July 1943 still defending its decision to resist the occupiers musically instead of taking up physical weapons and joining the resistance fighters:

> "But is there nothing else to do but wait for the Allied offensive? Is it not possible to incite the Allies to hasten the hour? Is it not useful to do everything to facilitate success? Should we not, moreover, also have the right to share the victory, given our participation in the shared struggle?
> "Certainly, is it not it? But what can we do if we do not have the heart or the material ability to join the Francs-Tireurs, when we as musicians are not prepared for this role?"[54]

Similarly, while the intent of de Gaulle's BBC Radio Londres broadcasts was to encourage French audiences to take up arms and participate in the fight against the German forces, very few listeners were bold enough to do so.[55] Despite its failure to obtain its goal, the radio station Radio Londres continued its broadcasts throughout the Occupation. These two examples, which are explored in more detail throughout this study, point to an interesting problem concerning the success of social movement tactics towards a goal.

[54] "Mais n'y a-t-il pas autre chose à faire que d'attendre l'offensive alliée? N'est-il pas possible d'inciter les Alliés à en hâter l'heure? N'est-il pas utile de tout faire pour en faciliter le succès? Ne faut-il pas, enfin, que notre participation à la lute commune nous assure le droit de participer aussi à la victoire commune?
"Certainement, n'est-ce pas? Mais que peut-on faire si on n'a pas le Cœur ou la possibilité matérielle de rejoindre les Francs-Tireurs, quand on est un musicien prepare à ce role?" *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, no. 7, July 1943 (MRN).
[55] Martyn Cornick, "'Fraternity among listeners.' The BBC and French Resistance: Evidence from Refugees," in *Vichy, Resistance, Liberation: New Perspectives on Wartime France*, edited by Hanna Diamond and Simon Kitson (New York: Berg, 2005), 103.

Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison concentrate on music's symbolic position in social movements through ritual and collective memory. Eyerman and Jamison claim, "As the carrier of (past) traditions, music bears images and symbols which help frame (present) reality."[56] Tradition and memory are linked and hold a significant role in the creation of collective identity. They believe that these concepts hold an even more significant role in expressing collective identity than through the typical demonstrations of social movements.[57] Eyerman and Jamison argue that the type of music performed, which in their study is generally popular music, connects current social movements to other groups of people historically through time, giving the social movement a pre-determined identity to call upon. Furthermore, whether sacred or secular, the simplest songs often "evoke the strongest emotions, primarily because they are the bearers of musical tradition."[58] Because of the historicity of ritual then, they argue that music can be viewed as resistant and rebellious in the face of opposition, particularly towards hegemonic ideology.[59]

Like Eyerman and Jamison, sociologists Rob Rosenthal and Richard Flacks recognize the importance of musical ritual in the "music-movement link." However, they concentrate more specifically on the use of music in the moment of the social movement and the influence it may have on a group's actions by focusing on two main questions: "How can music affect human action? How is music a *resource* for social movements?"[60] With these questions in mind, they study the connection between social movements and music through mobilization, collective identity formation, education, recruitment, and sustainment. Their overall answer to these

[56] Eyerman, 45.
[57] Ibid., 65.
[58] Ibid., 43.
[59] Ibid., 37.
[60] Rob Rosenthal and Richard Flacks, *Playing for Change: Music and Musicians in the Service of Social Movements* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2011), 8. Emphasis theirs.

questions is, though, simple: *musicking*, they claim, is responsible for these processes. As this suggests, their study relies heavily on Christopher Small's concept that music is not a noun but a process, which he calls "musicking." Without delving too far into Small's concept of musicking, Small essentially turns music from a noun into a verb, an action that can connect large disparate groups of people through the creation of music. As optimistic this theory is, I feel Small is too generous in who could actively make music. It is clearer to observe the interactions of people in the creation of music by focusing on the specific actions of composition, performance, and listening.

### 1.2.3 Music and Resistance

The term "resistance" has become a rather trendy slogan in American politics, however with very little critical introspection. Over the past couple of decades, scholars from various fields have employed the term with wildly different definitions loosely attached to the subject of their studies. Frustrated by this lack of consistency, in 2004, sociologists Jocelyn A. Hollander and Rachel L. Einwohner offered perhaps the first critical analysis in the usage of the term "resistance." After examining a vast array of studies on resistance from various fields, Hollander and Einwohner found that scholarly employment of the word "resistance" generally falls into eight categories: overt, purposeful actions that are recognized by the target and others as opposition; covert, actions that are not recognized as resistance by the target; unwitting, or non-purposeful actions that are recognized as oppositional by target and actor; target-defined, non-purposeful actions that are determined as resistance by only the target; externally-defined, non-purposeful actions that are recognized as resistance to the outside observer; missed, resistance that escapes the recognition of

outside observers; attempted, purposeful but failed actions; and finally, no resistance at all.[61] Hollander and Einwohner admit themselves that this should not be thought of as a framework, nor as an all-encompassing solution in how to use the term; they do not even agree with some of the usages they have found. Instead, their endeavor was meant to highlight the underlying problems in the study of resistance in scholarship and demonstrate how complicated defining the term can be.

Indeed, Hollander and Einwohner are not the only ones who expressed frustration over the loose way "resistance" is employed in scholarship. Political scientist Ray Pratt conveys a similar sentiment in his entry "Music and Resistance" for *Grove Music Online*. Pratt complains that the uncritical use of the word has made it "virtually synonymous with any kind of oppositional thinking, or subcultural behavior."[62] Pratt posits that studying resistance must be done in the historical and social contexts in which it is performed. It should also be recognized that any action of resistance itself is indeed a moving target, one that is negotiated regularly by the situations any movement may find itself in. In his summary of the uses of resistant musical forms, which he primarily focuses on popular music and the blues, Pratt identifies several key uses of music in terms of resistance. Music may create a form of collective identity by delimitating those included in the group versus its opposition, act as a means of "escape" from the constraints the reigning power has imposed on the subjugated and enable empowerment that can lead to overt actions of resistance.

[61] Rachel L. Einwohner and Jocelyn A. Hollander, "Conceptualizing Resistance," *Sociological Forum* 19, no. 4 (December 2004): 544.
[62] Ray Pratt, "Resistance, music and," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 16 October 2013, accessed 2 September 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.pitt.idm.oclc.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2252296.

Pratt's notion that resistance is constantly negotiated by actors and the contexts they find themselves in is particularly useful in my study. Likewise, his analysis of the uses of music and resistance certainly applies to the subject of my study here. I do find that Pratt's definition of musical resistance is, unfortunately, limiting as it only is imagined as something that leads to identifiable and concrete resistant acts. He states, "Music has an ability to create a kind of spontaneous collective identity among performers and listeners, facilitating the investment of psychological energy in acts of resistance or serving itself as the expression and embodiment of resistance."[63] While I agree with Pratt on all of these points, he essentially claims that music's main contribution to a resistance effort is to encourage the *spirit* of resistance, which then instigates *actual* acts of resistance. Performance, composition, and listening, then, are not identifiable forms of resistance in and of themselves.

Much of the literature I have encountered on the subject agrees with Pratt, as well. Two such studies, Natalia Lozano's work on music and resistance in the Colombian South Pacific and Marek Korczynski's ethnomusicological study of the role of music in an English blinds factory, essentially come to the same conclusions that music creates a spirit of resistance. Lozano does not say this in such terms however; for Lozano, resistance is performing peace, and to perform peace is to live in insecurity without fighting against it.[64] This connotation is confusing, as, mentioned above, to resist is to actively oppose and try to change a political structure, not to find methods of dealing with a situation. Lozano later clarifies this when she introduces music that the Colombian musicians she interviewed felt performing was an active reminder of their heritage, which they

[63] Ibid.

[64] Natalia Lozano, *Playing Music, Performing Resistance: The Dynamics of Resistance through Music in the Colombian South Pacific Coast*, Masters of Peace Collection v. 5 (Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2012), 24.

view as separate from the government that "seeks to homogenize."[65] In other words, music connects them through their cultural memory, and encourages collective identity; however, this is not very different from the discussion on music and social movements described above.

Korczynski observes a similar phenomenon in how music is used to enact a "spirit of resistance."[66] He argues that this spirit of resistance is an important underpinning for more concrete acts of resistance. This spirit is further enacted by specific "cultural instigators," leaders among a group of people who encourage collective acts of resistance.[67] The setting of the blinds factory illustrates Korczynski's theory effectively; while management of the company aspires to alienate its employees to work without questioning the conditions or status of their employment, several employees on the factory floor would create an atmosphere of camaraderie through their shared love of listening to and singing along with the radio. This encourages further acts of resistance, such as banding together to dispute working overtime for less money or talking back to their supervisors.[68] Korczynski's study fully supports his working theory of music as a spirit of resistance, though music and listening are not the resistant acts in themselves.

These works support the idea that music acts as a way of collective identity formation, which declares "this is who we are, this is who we are against, and this is how we can do it." While the literature discussed above believes music only creates a spirit of resistance, there are also instances where the music itself is the resistant act as a direct attack against its opposition. This designation falls under music and violence. Historian Ian Michie explores such themes in music

[65] Ibid., 101, 104.
[66] Although I used this term to also describe Lozano's engagement with music and resistance, it is specifically Korczynski's term.
[67] Marek Korczynski, *Songs of the Factory: Pop Music, Culture, and Resistance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 16-17, 49.
[68] Ibid., 154-162.

from the times of American slavery to present-day rap. He delineates a clear evolution in messages of resistance in African American civil rights music, starting with the songs that African slaves collectively sang as a means of understanding their plight and also spiritually transcending it. This is followed by gospel music of the Civil Rights Era, which not only created the same feelings of hope for African Americans but also connected them to their collective memory and trauma.

Despite these songs containing messages of hope for a better future for African-Americans or being a cathartic release from their suffering, Michie details accounts of the songs used as direct resistance to white authorities, who were often bothered so much by these songs that they threatened physical violence against the activists.[69] Michie then analyzes music that is closer to the present day with overt messages of violence against white authorities, primarily that of white police, by black disenfranchised musicians. The revolts in Los Angeles, for instance, were predicted by rap groups such as Public Enemy and N.W.A. in songs like N.W.A.'s "Fuck tha Police."[70] While it is difficult to determine if these songs incited violence or created a means for African American youth to try and have some sort of agency over their situation, certainly the authorities who were targeted in the lyrics took the music as a direct assault.

Similarly, literary scholars Craig Meyer and Todd Snyder describe how "politicians and hip-hop artists have long been at odds" with each other. The more popular that rap became during the 1990s, the more that politicians declared it a direct attack on the morals of America, a trend that continues to this day. No sitting president, beginning with Ronald Reagan, was spared from the critiques of rappers who argued through their lyrics that American politicians were not willing

[69] Ian Michie, "'Toward a Truer World' Overt and Implied Messages of Resistance from Slave Songs to Rap," in *Sounds of Resistance: The Role of Music in Multicultural Activism* v. 1, edited by Lindsay Michie and Eunice Rojas (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 5, 11.
[70] Ibid., 16.

to address the socio-economic problems that continued to disenfranchise African-Americans.[71] Political leaders, up to President Barack Obama, in turn, either dismiss their problems or take their critiques as literal attacks against their goodwill.[72]

Finally, ethnomusicologist David McDonald combines music and violence with the context of occupation by studying music in present-day Palestine. McDonald argues that the only means of retaliation against their Israeli occupiers is through the musical performance of violence. The music and theatrical performance that McDonald describes in his ethnography act as both a means of unification among the Palestinian people by reminding them of their shared history and struggle and also by fueling their cause with violent imagery. Such imagery includes that of child dancers wearing black hoods who are terrorized on stage by an older dancer dressed as an Israeli soldier. In this performative space subjectivities and identities are negotiated as is their status as occupied peoples. McDonald explains, "For many Palestinians living in exile it has become necessary to reenact such suffering through performative media (music, poetry, film, literature, cinema, and dance) to articulate their distinctly Palestinian identities, and to express solidarity with friends and family living under occupation." [73] Unfortunately, McDonald has a particularly pessimistic perspective of these resistant acts as only performing resistance in the Butlerian sense, but not as being actively resistant. I claim in this dissertation that the subjects of this study are not merely performing resistance in musical, Butlerian, and identity-forming instances, but are demonstrating active resistant tactics.

[71] Craig Meyer and Todd Snyder, "The New Political Rhetoric of Hip-Hop Music in the Obama Era," in *Sounds of Resistance: The Role of Music in Multicultural Activism* v. 1, edited by Lindsay Michie and Eunice Rojas (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 231.
[72] Sentiments that are exacerbated by lyrics such as Ice-T's, "We buy guns to make us strong/Ronald Reagan sends guns where they don't belong" from the song "Squeeze the Trigger."
[73] David A. McDonald, "Poetics and the Performance of Violence in Israel/Palestine," *Ethnomusicology* 53, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 61, 69, 71.

## 1.3 Project Structure

As demonstrated through the above literature review, the employment of music in social movements and resistance groups varies in degrees of involvement depending on the context. Music is used for identity formation, to create a spirit of resistance among the group, and to send violent messages to the opposition, and it was used by resistance organizations during the Occupation in all these ways. I argue that along with this practical employment of music to obtain their goals resistance, the listening, composition, and performance of music are also real resistant acts; furthermore, music was utilized as a way of framing their new life under the totalitarian regime. My study is divided into four chapters and organized in a funnel-like structure from the wider collective level down to the individual experience. Each chapter focuses on how music production was used as resistant tactics and how this employment framed the experience of Occupation for composers, musicians, and audiences.

### 1.3.1 Collective Radio Listening in Occupied Paris

Chapter 1 will focus on messaging and music broadcast on the BBC radio station Radio Londres. This broadcasting endeavor presents an interesting example of when social movement tactics do not exactly obtain its desired goal but influence the personal lives of its listeners. During the Occupation, both the German and Vichy governments and the Allied Forces understood that the radio was an effective medium to reach and assuage the Occupied citizens. The Allies and the Forces françaises libres under General Charles de Gaulle wanted to galvanize French citizens to

take up arms against their occupiers and join the Résistance via BBC Radio.[74] However, the programs that broadcast on Radio Londres did not produce its desired effect. In 1943 there were only an estimated 10,000-armed soldiers in the Forces françaises libres, proving that many listeners did not feel compelled to join the fight. Yet, occupied peoples in France listened to the Radio Londres programs every night, despite threats from the German government.[75] Even though the messaging of Radio Londres focused on Allied nations' successes in battle and its encouragement of joining the resistance was transmitted to its audiences, these audiences behaved differently due to their collective listening practices.

This chapter then will analyze what audiences were listening to and under what conditions. This will include primary documentation, such as handwritten program notes and catalogs of music, found in the Archives Nationales digitized archives as well as a collection of letters from French listeners to the BBC (published by historian Aurélie Luneau in 2014).[76] I argue that the ways in which audiences listened to the radio resulted in a very active form of resistance against the German occupiers. The act of listening to Radio Londres every night shaped its audiences' perspectives of occupation and was a substantial form of civil resistance.

### 1.3.2 From Collaboration to Resistance: Pierre Schaeffer's Journey through the Radio

Chapter 2 shifts the focus from audience reception of the radio to the production of programs within Paris and demonstrates how people could engage in both civil and realized

[74] Cornick, 103.
[75] Mitchell, 18, 30.
[76] Aurélie Luneau, *Je vous écris de France: Lettres inédites à la BBC 1940-1944* (Paris: L'Iconoclaste, 2014). Documents within the Archives Nationales were recorded by a rector named "Henry," but the date of when this record was made is unknown and any biographical information about Henry is vague.

resistance while working for the state. Composer and radio technician Pierre Schaeffer has become more of a focus in recent literature on music and the Occupation. Indeed, Schaeffer presents an interesting case; although his Studio d'Essai is known as the site of resistance radio during the Libération, Schaeffer did not become active in the Résistance until the beginning of 1944. For much of the Occupation, Schaeffer worked for the state in a variety of positions. First, he was the founder of a Vichy-funded organization called Jeune France, whose main purpose was to artistically disseminate messages of propaganda for the state. Later, Schaeffer was employed by Radiodiffusion nationale in Paris where he worked on new experimental methods for radio broadcasting. These experiments were carried out in the Studio d'Essai. Schaeffer participated in these programs with the belief that he could remain "apolitical."

Schaeffer believed that the radio could create new sound spaces for listeners and of connecting numerous people together. The broadcasting and recording innovations that Schaeffer and his team created at Studio d'Essai culminated in the eight-hour-long radio drama *La Coquille à planètes*. With music by Jewish composer Claude Arrieu, the drama is a phantasmagorical story about a young man existential journal in which he meets the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Despite not outwardly demonstrating any resistance themes, *La Coquille à planètes* was pushed as a work of the Résistance for several years following the Libération.

In this chapter, I contend that *La Coquille à planètes* is an artistic representation of Schaeffer's journey into the Résistance by doing an in-depth analysis of the story. In this way, Schaeffer, despite working for the state at the time of the drama's production, frames his experience and situates himself against the regime. Using archival material like letters and radio programs from the Pierre Schaeffer archives in the Institut mémoires de l'édition contemporaine, I explore how listeners could have heard the drama as a resistance work. Finally, I examine how

Schaeffer and his team turned the Studio d'Essai into a center of resistance and how music was directly incorporated as a tool against the Occupiers.

### 1.3.3 Resistance Tactics of the Front national des musiciens

While the previous chapter explores the journey into working for the Résistance, Chapter 3 centers solely on the tactics of the musical organization the Front national des musiciens. As an arm of the larger Front national, the FNM delineated specific stories and information in its underground newspaper *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*. The most prominent editorials were always focused on actions of the Francs-Tireurs et Partisans, an armed resistance faction of the greater Front national. These editorials included perceived successful activities of the Francs-Tireurs et Partisans, including acts of sabotage and derailment of trains and cargo loads.[77] *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* highlighted in every issue with similar stories and also recounted successful stories (propaganda) of Allied Forces as well as foils of the Axis Powers.[78]

This chapter will investigate the specific operations of the FNM and how it mobilized fellow musicians and composers. Its primary goals were to promote French music and culture through several avenues: performing banned compositions and composing new works subversive to authorities; publishing editorials on French music that simultaneously condemned German occupiers and French collaborationists; and securing employment for French musicians and blacklisting collaborationist musical organizations. However, the one tactic that the FNM employed the most in its newspaper was delineating an "us versus them" mentality and frequently

[77] Margaret Atack, *Literature and the French Resistance: Cultural Politics and Narrative Forms, 1940-1950* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1989), 32-33.
[78] I use the word "propaganda" because, as we shall see, Hitler is on the verge of defeat with every issue spanning the three years of the underground publications.

urged against collaborating with the state. This presents inconsistencies among the organization, as many members of the FNM often collaborated with the state in a variety of ways.

Using archival documents obtained from the Musée de la Résistance nationale and the Bibliothèque nationale de France, I argue that this apparent contradiction is not necessarily a discrepancy but a clear shift in modes between the public social movement and the private lives of its members. I closely analyze the articles of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* and examine how the tactics the FNM urged its readers to do interacted with the lived experiences of FNM members. The archival material also includes reports from the FNM and other resistance organizations, meeting notes, internal documents (FNM and orchestra member lists, and drafts of material that would appear in the newspapers), and articles for collaborative journals, all which discuss and highlight the importance of music in the resistance movement and collective identity.

### 1.3.4 Elsa Barraine's Personal Narrative of Resistance as Survival

The trajectory of the project to this point explores the stories of citizens in France from a large collectivity of people to a specific social movement and explains how resistance provided them with the tools to survive and understand the Occupation. The last chapter of this project focuses on the lived experiences of just one individual, Jewish woman composer Elsa Barraine. As the head of the FNM, Barraine was in direct contact with the larger Front national and oversaw messaging and tactics that the FNM would employ. A comprehensive understanding of Barraine's life during the Occupation has yet to be fully explored, leading many to assume that Barraine dedicated her entire life to the resistance. Barraine's eighty-two letters to her friend Louis Saguer, held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, provide vital insight into how Barraine viewed the world around her. Despite Barraine's characteristically strong personality, these letters reveal an

individual who held conflicting feelings towards music and resistance and who had to make difficult decisions to survive occupation. For as much as she wanted to stay and resist, she also often stated how much she hoped to escape the confines of Paris and join Saguer in the southern free zone. Like other members of the FNM, Barraine would participate in minor collaboration, which she attempts to excuse repeatedly in the letters.

This chapter attempts to answer a question that is present throughout most of this project: why compose music in times of danger? While Barraine was thought to have stopped composing during the Occupation, she continued to do so despite the mental and emotional strain it may have caused her. In this chapter, I use the narratives of Barraine's traumatic experience under occupation to explain her most important composition from this period, *Avis*. A setting of Paul Éluard's resistance poem of the same title, I explore how through the compositional process of *Avis* Barraine can understand the Occupation on her terms, thereby regaining some control over her situation. Composition in this sense is a resistance tactic, a refusal to lose control to an entity that wishes to consume.

Through this study, I produce a clearer understanding of how resistance groups during the Occupation of France utilized music as a real tactic for mobilization and resistance. Although previous literature has situated these organizations historically in the context of the Occupation, this dissertation will bring to the foreground the methods and messaging that these organizations employed as a mobilizing force, and how personal experiences of the Occupation influenced the efforts of resistance members. Most importantly, through this study, I argue that resistance itself is a refusal to be subsumed by another, one that the individuals highlighted in this project risked both their careers and their lives to uphold.

## 2.0 Collective Radio Listening in Occupied Paris

Scholars of the Occupation of France have recently focused on the two popular myths that surround the daily actions of French citizens under occupation. This first propagates the misconception that all French people were not only complicit but "enthusiastic" collaborationists with their German invaders, and turned a blind eye to the atrocities committed against their fellow citizens. The second myth was created by French historians quickly after the occupation ended, in which the French were always defiant of their German occupiers and widely participated in the French Résistance.[79] Both of these myths were created to answer the impossible question of how the French people could have allowed the tragedy of occupation to happen. Unfortunately, such myths fail to encapsulate the actual lived experiences of the French citizens. If the French did not all collaborate with Germany nor all eagerly join the French Résistance, what were French citizens doing during the Occupation? Among other activities, they listened to the radio, specifically English radio.

This chapter explores how French citizens used the radio as a means of understanding the occupation. I argue that through the station Radio Londres produced by the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) provided French audiences an avenue for maintaining a sense of collective identity. I explore how the BBC employs music as a tactic of mobilization, which enables listeners to maintain their collectivity and arouse a spirit of resistance. In addition, the act of collective listening by French audiences not only encouraged actual physical resistant acts, but it was also an act of civil resistance in itself. Lastly, I argue that the act of listening to Radio Londres every night

[79] Mitchell, xii.

framed its audiences' experience of occupation, as demonstrated through correspondence from French listeners to the BBC.

## 2.1 The Creation of Radio Londres

Although daily life in France was a struggle for the occupied, one of Germany's top priorities was maintaining French morale. Despite tanking the French economy, deporting thousands (notably Jewish or political resisters) and expatriates, German occupiers believed that if they could only gain the favor of the French citizens and show them that Germany is the superior country they should *want* to be a part of it and that France would eventually trust and actively support their invaders. French radio, under German control, was reestablished quickly after the Armistice was signed in June 1940. A new radio station called Radio Paris premiered on the airwaves at the end of July, and Vichy Radio started programming July 5. [80] While these stations were careful of discussing the Occupation in any means, they served to disseminate German propaganda through a variety of means. To mask the presence of this propaganda, though, the majority of programing would be cultural with live and recorded musical performances.[81]

General Charles de Gaulle was hardly a household name when he arrived in London on June 17, 1940. However, with the assistance of the BBC, de Gaulle became the leader and voice of the Free French, a movement in cooperation with British forces that symbolically represented

[80] Peter Mangold, *Britain and the Defeated French: From Occupation to Liberation, 1940-1944* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 105.
[81] Fulcher, 46.

the resistance efforts back in France.[82] The BBC began a new radio service called Radio Londres (with the tagline "Ici Londres") quickly after the Occupation began, and de Gaulle would speak on this station ten times between 18 June and 13 July. Radio Londres was careful to highlight de Gaulle's role and importance so that when resistance organizations on the ground solidified he would act as an immediate leader.[83]

Multiple organizations controlled the policy and broadcast decisions made on Radio Londres and other BBC radio stations that emitted to France. Initially, the Ministry of Information and Department Electra House managed such issues with Radio Londres, as the former directed overseas broadcasting and the latter controlled propaganda to enemy countries. The Department Electra House eventually came under the maintenance of the Special Operations Executive, which worked with the Ministry of Information until the ministry developed the Political Warfare Executive in 1941. The Political Warfare Executive's role was to supervise the propaganda disseminated by the Special Operations Executive, and these two organizations would control the majority of BBC policy through the entire Occupation. For purposes of clarity, I will refer to the BBC as a singular entity, though it is important to remember that multiple organizations are providing input to all radio services.[84]

The BBC worked to steadily increase the range of transmission and the duration of broadcast as the Occupation endured. In 1940, the BBC transmitted Radio Londres to France for a total of 17.5 hours per week; this duration more than doubled to 43.75 hours per week by 1944.[85]

[82] Tim Brooks, *British Propaganda to France, 1940—1944: Machinery, Method and Message* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 31.
[83] Mangold, 114.
[84] Brooks, 12-19. For a more detailed description on the development of British propaganda organizations, please refer to Brooks text *British Propaganda to France, 1940—1944: Machinery, Method and Message.*
[85] Ibid., 53.

The BBC focused its time and resources into broadcasting because it found it to be the most effective means of propaganda. Through this technology, the BBC endeavored a few lofty goals. As stated above, convincing resistance organizations to look to de Gaulle as their leader was one overall one goal that was successful but met with some difficulty. But the broader objectives were more abstract and produced varying degrees of success. The BBC's top priority was to restore "the self-respect of the French people" by ensuring occupied French citizens that the Allies would emerge victorious in the war. Similar objectives included discrediting the German propaganda and encouraging French resistance.[86] In identifying these goals, the BBC made some rather large assumptions of the influence of listening and the ability of the radio to unite a fragmented country. The following section will explore how and why individuals come together collectively and maintain collective identity even in times of separation.

### 2.2 Theories of Collective Identity

Collectivities are formed, both consciously and subconsciously, by groups of people who have specific commonalities. These shared aspects are what provides a group coherence into an identity. Specifically, the sociological term "collective identity" refers to groups of people who organize themselves into social movement collectives. These identities are arguably consciously developed, as they enable coherence to a movement that aims to achieve a certain goal. Sociologist Cristina Flesher Forminaya states, "Collective identity is the ability to distinguish the (collective) self from the 'other' and to be recognized by those 'others'… [It] establishes the limits of the actor

[86] Mangold, 108-111.

in relation to the field: it regulates membership of individuals and defines the requisites for joining the movement."[87]

Several aspects of collective identity are highlighted in this definition: members of the collective understand that which brings them together for the movement; individuals who do not match the criteria for the social movement are excluded; collective identity is an active and negotiable process that determines the actions and tactics that the collective will enforce in their endeavors. And thus, Forminaya argues that collective identities of social movements are both product of the social movement and an active and ongoing process: "[Although] collective identities can be understood as (potentially) encompassing shared interests, ideologies, subcultures, goals, rituals, practices, values, worldview, commitment, solidarity, tactics, strategies, definitions of 'enemy' or the opposition and framing of issues, it is *not* synonymous with and *cannot* be reduced to any of these."[88]

While certainly some occupied peoples actively mobilize against their occupiers,[89] it would be naïve to believe that all occupied peoples would want to or be able to. In the case of Occupied France, there was a small number who did actively mobilize against their Nazi occupiers.[90] However, there was not just one French resistance movement. Many organized within their profession, such as writers, artists, musicians, teachers, and so on. The group that is most synonymous with the resistance efforts, though, would be the Francs-Tireurs et Partisans Français (the FTP). The FTP was an armed branch of the resistance made up mostly of individuals from the

[87] Cristina Flesher Forminaya, "Collective Identities in Social Movements: Central Concepts and Debates," *Sociology Compass* 4/6 (2010): 395.
[88] Ibid., 398. Italics my own.
[89] For instance, Palestinian occupied peoples under Israeli rule use violence to voice their dissent against their occupiers. See McDonald.
[90] Lloyd, 33.

communist party.[91] Although these groups all had different visions for the future of France, they did have the prime goal of liberating France and ending occupation. It is important to note, though, that while they all had a common goal, the various resistance organizations each had their own identity, comprised of people who shared specific traits and who then used their tactics. While the "French Résistance" was indeed a social movement, its collective identity was a product of the goal each of these organizations shared; the organizations, in turn, also had processes for developing their own identities that agreed with their own goals.

As discussed above, one goal of the BBC and Radio Londres was to galvanize its listening audience to join the resistance and actively combat its Nazi occupiers. In one statement that the BBC released in 1941 this goal was made clear: "When the time comes, the spirit of resistance which burns with a white heat in the heart of the French people with burst with a mighty conflagration."[92] But the degree to which the BBC was successful in this task is questionable. In the autumn of 1943, the resistance only had an estimated 10,000 armed soldiers, which seemed only a small annoyance to Nazi occupiers and German sympathizers.[93] The overall traumatic effect of the Nazi occupation proved too harsh to mobilize the majority of French citizens to join the resistance. Certainly, there were dire consequences if resistance members were caught, as an estimated 30,000 resisters and hostages of the Nazi government were executed.[94] It is perhaps this hesitation in joining the resistance that adds to the cultural trauma the French developed under occupation, a period of which historian Ronald C. Rosbottom claims France is trying to "both

[91] Rosbottom, 314.
[92] Cornick, 103.
[93] Ibid., 35.
[94] Ibid., 24.

remember and find ways to forget" today.[95] Despite not joining the resistance, the French audience of *Radio Londres* continued to tune in to the program every night and the program continued to run through the duration of the Occupation, culminating in a repeated action by a group of people who shared a traumatic cultural attack and other traits that benefitted the movement, resulting in a collective identity among listeners.

### 2.3 Community Formation

It's a common statement that listening to the radio connects individuals together, especially when listening to music. J.W. Krueger, for example, argues that whenever someone listens to music, even if it is the adolescent teenager listening to music sulkily in his room, they are doing so against a "network of social relationships and practices." The act of listening itself means that the individual is actively engaged with the music, as well as to others who listen to it and those who make it. Krueger and other scholars call this action as "musicking."[96] However, the exact type of collectivity formed in this example, if any, is not succinctly defined. Are the connections that individuals make through listening ephemeral? Are they conscious? Do individuals have to be actively engaged to collectively form? Also, if the audiences of Radio Londres were not involved in a social movement themselves, how is it possible for them to form a sense of collective identity?

[95] Jonathan Yardley, "A History of Paris during Nazi occupation," *Washington Post*, 29 August 2014, accessed 25 November 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/a-history-of-paris-during-nazi-occupation/2014/08/29/fce9e112-222c-11e4-958c-268a320a60ce_story.html.
[96] Joel W. Krueger, "Doing Things with Music," *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences* 10, no. 1 (March 2011): 16.

While the audience was not necessarily part of the social movement, encouraging audiences to recognize their collective identity in the form of a shared community arguably was a goal of the BBC. As Forminaya critically analyzes different concepts of collective identity above, ethnomusicologist Kay Kaufman Shelemay critiques definitions of the word "community," which, she argues, is a term that is employed far too much with little theoretical investigation.[97] She claims that the concept of "community" is normally assumed in a musical study as a form of collectivity and is rarely theorized upon, but it is used as an entry point to study the musical practices of a community. The effect that musical practices have on community formation and sustainability is often ignored in these studies.[98]

In response to what she determines as a deficit within scholarship, specifically in the field of musicology, Shelemay proposes her working definition and framework. She proposes three different "processes" of musical communities that are formed through collective identity: "affinity," "descent," and "dissent" communities.[99] Communities formed through processes of affinity are generated by a "desire for social proximity" with others who are "equally enamored" with a shared interest. Music, Shelemay claims, is an effective facilitator for affinity community formation as it only depends on interest and participation in a shared musical preference. One can think of Krueger's sulky teenager connecting to other sulky teenagers around the world through shared tastes in alternative rock, for example.

Although affinity communities do not need common features such as location, time, and place or personal identity factors like ethnicity, race, religion, and so on, the other two processes

[97] Kay Kaufman Shelemay, "Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 350.
[98] Ibid., 355.
[99] Ibid., 376.

depend on such relatable factors. Processes of descent depend directly on personal identity factors, and music holds the role of both a symbol of the community and a means of establishing and maintaining the collectivity. The ritualistic use of music participation, both in performing and listening, contributes to the sustainability of the descent community and also establishes its "social boundaries" of the group from other communities.[100] On the other hand, dissent communities form solely out of opposition to a collective offense. Dissent communities will often have something else in common, whether it is a shared location, ethnicity, or another trait. Similarly to social movement collective identities, dissent communities come together as an act of resistance, and music is employed by such communities to collectively voice their dissent to the opposition.[101]

As displayed in these three different community process formations, music is used in several ways to bring collections of individuals together in the form of communities. From this framework, Shelemay defines "musical communities" as "sustained by musical processes and/or performances," "socially and/or symbolically constituted," and "is an outcome of a combination of social and musical process, rendering those who *participate* in making or *listening* to music *aware of a connection among themselves*."[102] Shelemay's entire framework surrounding community is naturally focused around shared musical performance and listening practices among individuals.

Historian Kate Lacey offers an approach to listening practices that is compatible with Shelemay's musical communities. Lacey broadens the scope of collectivity to include a "listening public," which she defines as "made up of listeners inhabiting a condition of plurality and

[100] Ibid., 368.
[101] Ibid., 370, 372.
[102] Ibid., 364-365.

intersubjectivity."[103] This means that a number of different individual identities that come together with a shared identity through the process of listening. Lacey focuses her framework on the processes in which listening publics form, one of which she calls "collective radio listening." Collective radio listening has two connotations: numerous individuals listening to the same programs on the radio; and groups of people listening to the same radio within the same physical space. It is the latter that Lacey extrapolates upon, as she argues that in the early days of radio listening practices were more of a social activity as opposed to an isolated one. She states, "Radio from the beginning was not only a social phenomenon, but a sociable one, with families and neighbors listening together… or workers in shops, factories, and offices working to a background of mediated music." Furthermore, audiences seemed to listen even more critically during a period of "heightened political climate." It did not take governments long to realize that this technology was effective in processes of nation-building through a "shared acoustic experience."[104]

Lacey explores targeted uses of collective radio listening by radio stations from Great Britain and Germany between the World Wars. The BBC was among the first radio companies to explore collective radio listening techniques through "democratic listening." Believing that group listening facilitates the open flow of ideas and opinions, the BBC conducted various studies focused on group listening among different individuals, which supplied it with specific audience data as to "who was listening, when, and how and with what response."[105] Some groups were even genre-specific, allowing participants to listen to radio programs that fit their personal tastes, for instance, programs about science, politics, and so on. Feedback from the group listening studies

[103] Kate Lacey, *Listening Publics: The Politics and Experience of Listening in the Media Age* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2013): 8.
[104] Ibid., 135, 137.
[105] Ibid., 142.

were overwhelmingly positive, as it encouraged camaraderie, open discussion, and active education all at the same time.[106] However, it seemed that the BBC had put too much emphasis on group listening, as eventually a demand for "individualized" listening experiences brought an end to radio programs designed for group experiences.

In contrast to democratic group listening, the Weimar Republic of Germany encouraged "listening communities" (Hörgemeinde). Shortly after World War I, workers' radio clubs were formed as a result of the government's efforts to control the airwaves. Large groups of people (some up to 500) gathered to both listen and discuss the content of the radio programs. These clubs taught its members how to critically listen to the radio and supported specific programs over others, such as programs that were associated with the bourgeoisie.[107] All activity was reported back to the party press and radio authority. As the Nazi party rose to power, group listening continued to be an effective tool for nation-building and was enforced to an even greater extent. Loudspeakers were installed in more public spaces, and citizens were expected to listen uncritically and attentively whenever the Führer broadcasted over these speakers. Also, propaganda against Jews, Russians, and people of African-descent were broadcast, which highlighted the primary purpose of collective listening. Posters addressing "true German radio listeners" propagated this belief: "Break the red broadcasting terror! The red radio raises the highest fees in the whole world and with your money has turned the microphone into the strongest propaganda tool of cultural bolshevism, negrofication, and corruption of the Volk… German be the radio!"[108]

Though these two forms of collective radio listening both exhibited a means of nation-building, they approached it from vastly different perspectives. While the BBC group listening

[106] Ibid., 142.
[107] Ibid., 149.
[108] Ibid., 150. Quote translated by Lacey, German text not provided.

studies encouraged individualism, Weimar and later Nazi Germany radio stations encouraged its listeners to view themselves as part of a unified mass. Both methods still produced a type of community at different scales. According to Shelemay's framework for community formation, the BBC listening groups are communities that are formed out of both descent (all British) and affinity (love for the radio programs) processes, while the German listening communities are formed from descent (all German) and dissent (voicing who are enemies to the *Volk*) processes. Further, these means of collective radio listening pitted these two nations against one another in opposition. Even after World War II, modes of group listening stood as code for the names of Great Britain and Germany in the British Parliamentary Report of 1949:

> "Broadcasting as an influence on men's minds has great possibilities, either of good or evil. The good is that if broadcasting can find a serious audience it is an unrivaled means of bringing vital issues to wider understanding. The evil is that broadcasting is capable of increasing perhaps the most serious of all dangers which threaten democracy and free institutions today—the danger of passivity."[109]

British and German radio stations would use these methods of collective radio listening to win the public opinion of the French during the occupation. However, as will be seen, the French would collectively form in as a "listening community" in different ways from what the BBC and German stations had experienced in their collective radio listening that cultivated into resistance.

[109] Ibid., 146.

## 2.4 French Collective Listening

As is suggested by a popular title for the occupation, "The War of Words," the radio played an imperative role as a means of both control and resistance. Both British and German forces knew that the best method to reach French listeners with their individual messages was through radio technology, and, as explained in the previous section, both nations were very adept at using these methods. Each nation employed radio technology to disseminate propaganda and influence public opinion: the British wanted to compel French listeners to join the resistance, while the Germans desperately wanted to win the favor of its occupants. The messages and forms of delivery that both nations delivered to occupied listeners were quite similar to one another.

Germany wanted to maintain a particular French appearance by avoiding a heavy use of Nazi propaganda. The hope was that by instructing stations such as Radio Paris (located in Nazi-occupied France) to not overly distribute German propaganda, French listeners who were wary of the occupiers would eventually trust the information distributed.[110] Furthermore, Germany attempted to appeal to France's longstanding history of Anglophobia both on the airwaves and in print. Posters appeared in Paris with the phrase, "Abandoned, trust the German soldier,"[111] telling onlookers that the rest of the world, notably Great Britain, left France to this fate.[112] Other posters, such as "Hier, Aujourdi'hui, Demain?" ("Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow?") were plastered around Vichy France outlined moments in history when Great Britain had either sabotaged or outright opposed French efforts for greatness. Radio stations such as Radio Stuttgart further highlighted this sordid history by reminding audiences of the "debacle at Dunkirk" and Treaty of Versailles

[110] Mitchell, 30.
[111] "Populations abandonnés, confiez-vous au soldat allemande."
[112] Pryce-Jones, 22.

(in which the English sacrificed French security for German interests), the attack of the French fleet at Mers el Kébir by the Royal Navy, and England's attempt at infiltrating French West Africa.[113] Radio Paris and Vichy radio stations also contributed to this anti-British rhetoric in hopes of swaying their listeners.

But despite appeals to an inherent Anglophobia, British propaganda was just as, if not more, effective. London distributed propaganda through the radio, leaflets dropped on cities, and rumors, all of which were aimed towards undermining French support for Germany and Vichy. Citizens were hesitant to pick up and take home such documents out of fear they would be caught with oppositional literature. While the exact impact is unknown, rumors did spread quickly in 1942. Some rumors created false stories of German activity; for instance, that the Germans were to dismantle the Eiffel Tower for its metal, or that bombs dropped on residential areas in retaliation against Britain. Others were humorous, such as a rumor that Maréchal Phillip Pétain was not allowed to write the beginnings and endings of his speeches.[114] Of course, the radio was the most reliable means of disseminating information and propaganda, so much so that German efforts to gain France's favor seemed to be fruitless. As early as October 1940 there were multiple reasons for poor morale in Paris, including, the "realization of defeat," a decimated economy, the return of refugees from Southern ("free") France, the endeavors of the French resistance, and, most importantly, the "effectiveness of English propaganda." Just as impossible it seemed to curry the favor of French citizens was it to curb the attention given to BBC radio. Military staff conceded, "After 6:30 pm English radio rules the airwaves."[115]

[113] Cornick, Martyn, "Fighting Myth with Reality: The Fall of France, Anglophobia and the BBC," in *France at War in the Twentieth Century: Propaganda, Myth and Metaphor*, edited by Valerie Holman and Debra Kelly (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000): 72-74.
[114] Mangold., 105, 121.
[115] Mitchell, 18, 30.

The BBC used several tactics via its programming to catch the attention of French audiences. The primary reason why audiences tuned into the BBC was for information and news, as the BBC gained a reputation for accurate and unbiased news among French listeners. Radio Londres regularly broadcasted news concerning the war efforts, particularly highlighting Great Britain's successes, but to gain credibility, anchors would also inform listeners of German successes and actions. Many listeners cross-checked the news they heard on Radio Londres with other radio stations, such as Swiss radio.[116] Even though the BBC displayed an impartial façade, the British needed to convince French listeners that Hitler and the Nazi party could be resisted and ultimately defeated.[117] As a result, many French listeners believed that the BBC delivered more trustworthy news than German-influenced French sources.[118]

**Figure 2. "Radio Paris," Archives Nationales, Salle des inventaires virtuelle, 72AJ/226 Dossier no. 2**

But the BBC did target the Germans and their collaborators, mainly in the form of catchy jingles, slogans, and maxims, which Radio Londres implemented relatively early in the Occupation. Radio Londres first emitted a simple jingle in September of 1940: "Radio Paris ment, Radio Paris ment, Radio Paris est allemande!" ("Radio Paris lies, Radio Paris lies, Radio Paris is

116 Mangold, 107.
117 Cornick, "Fraternity," 107.
118 Cornick, "Fighting," 81.

German!").[119] This jingle is loosely set to "La Cucaracha," a well-known Spanish folk song that tells the story of a cockroach that lost one of its legs and hobbles around (Figure 2).[120] The use of this melody is fitting, as the cockroach represents social and political corruption; it was popular during Spain's Civil Wars in the mid-1800s as well as during the Mexican Revolution as a "corrido" in 1910.[121] This relatively simple and catchy melody ensured that the message about German-controlled radio was disseminated rather easily. Indeed, it was an effective tactic; one individual named "Espérance" wrote a letter to the BBC on September 15, 1940, and reported that children sing "Radio Paris ment" as well as other songs they heard on Radio Londres.[122]

Of course, Radio Paris retaliated with similar jingles, such as the following jingle set to the melody of the seventeenth century chanson "Auprès de ma blonde":

| | |
|---|---|
| Au jardin d'Angleterre | In the garden of England |
| Les bobards ont fleuri, | The fibs have bloomed |
| Tous les menteurs du monde | All the liars of the world |
| Parlent à la BBC | Speak to the BBC |
| Au gré de ces ondes | At the discretion of these waves |
| Qu'il fait bon, fait bon, fait bon, | How good it is, how good, how good, |
| Au gré de ces ondes | At the discretion of these waves |
| Qu'il fait bon mentir… | How good it is to lie… |

[119] Aurélie Luneau, *Radio Londres 1940-1944* (Paris: Perrin, 2005): 66.
[120] One may note that the meter in "Radio Paris ment" is not the same as the original folk tune; however, the archived document definitely indicates that "La Cucaracha" is the correct theme with this note next to the melody: "To the tune of La Cucaracha" ("air tire de la Cucaracha). My theory as to why the meter is different is because it fits the flow of the lyrics to "Radio Paris ment" better. However, one could make an argument that it was also a corrected or "frenchified" rendition of the folk song in the appropriative sense. It would be interesting to see how many other tunes were appropriated in this way, however the I am also confident that, since the note is present in the original document, Radio Londres always intended for audiences to be able to identify the tune as "La Cucaracha."
[121] Bob Schulman, "La Cucaracha: No Pot, No Travel," *Huffpost.com,* 26 July 2016, accessed 15 October 2017, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/bob-schulman/la-cucaracha-no-pot-no-tr_b_11203526.html.
[122] Luneau, *Je vous écris,* 62-63.

One can easily perceive the difference between the two jingles, as the BBC's was short and easy to remember whereas Radio Paris's jingle is comparably wordy. The BBC perceived this extensive response to its small chant as a psychological victory.[123] The success of BBC jingles resided in its brevity and simplicity. The lyrics addressed the realities and attitudes that French citizens harbored as a result of the Occupation. Another song performed on the radio in 1940, "L'Armistice," stated what most French were thinking—that the Armistice was a sham (Figure 3). Similarly, "Les Journaux," instructed French audiences to be critical of collaborationist newspapers and to "read between the lines" (Figure 4).

**Figure 3. "L'Armistice," Archives Nationales, Salle des inventaires virtuelle, 72AJ/226 Dossier no. 2**

Un armistice,
Ce n'est qu'un armistice
Le traité de paix
N'est pas encore signé.

An armistice
is only an armistice,
The peace treaty
is not yet signed.

**Figure 4. "Les Journaux," Archives Nationales, Salle de inventaires virtuelle, 72AJ/226 Dossier no. 2**

123 Luneau, *Radio Londres*, 67.

| | |
|---|---|
| Il y a les journaux de Paris, qui semblent tous traduits de Boche;<br>Il y a les journaux de Vichy, feuilletez les même s'ils semblent moches;<br>Si vous êtez malins, malignes, vous sauvez lire entre les lignes. | There are the newspapers of Paris, which seem to be all translated from German;<br>There are the newspapers of Vichy, leaf through them, even if they seem dreadful;<br>If you are smart, malignant, you know how to read through the lines. |

The BBC actively gathered information and opinions from French audiences, which was then broadcast on air. There were four main sources for intelligence gathering: two of the sources were German-controlled print and radio news outlets, which regularly denied the validity of British news stories;[124] the other two sources stemmed directly from French audience members. Radio Londres performed a series of interviews throughout the entire war with refugees fleeing from France, amounting to 511 interviews in total. Two notable spikes in mass exodus occurred in 1942, first with instatement of Pierre Laval as head of state for Vichy France, and then again when the Nazis took over the southern zone in November of that year. The BBC's primary interest in these interviews pertained to the effectiveness of the BBC radio in France and the listening habits of French audiences; this was included as part of the vetting process for refugees fleeing France.[125]

The last source of information was letters submitted by French audiences into a particularly successful segment on Radio Londres called "Les Français parlent aux Français." French audiences were asked to submit their letters to the BBC discussing their experiences and opinions of the occupation and German government as well as their attitudes towards Radio Londres. This program intended to encourage audiences to actively tune in to hear their letters be acknowledged on air. Their messages contained overtly dissident attitudes towards their occupiers. British radio offered French audiences a chance to express these opinions on-air, whereas German-controlled

[124] Cornick, "Fighting," 78.
[125] Cornick, "Fraternity," 103-104.

radio would not offer the same outlet. Letters poured in from all over France, including the occupied north zone, and the influence of these letters on audiences was powerful. In one instance, a censor who opened a letter bound for the BBC affixed a personal message: “My best wishes to you all, you who have the courage to fight for freedom.”[126] This short message demonstrated different degrees of collaboration that did not necessarily actively support the regime.

Themes of disdain for the German occupiers were common in these letters. Refugee Neville Lytton, an English citizen who lived in France during the time of occupation, said in one interview that not only were the French “thirsty” for news about the outside world but they were united in their desire to dispense the Germans from France.[127] A letter by “Lu. Be. Br. Ly” on July 1, 1941, was wary of German-controlled news sources in France: “The atmosphere in France is becoming, in a word, unbreathable. The newsrooms of the press are now the dispensaries of fake news.”[128]

People from within the occupied territory complained about the constraints the Germans had put them under, particularly the food shortage. A child wrote to BBC in October 1943, “Not beautiful, life, not beautiful… no eating at mother’s, never eating dinner, never eating.” Another listener agreed with this description, as they described French as mainly “food hunters.”[129] An anonymous individual summarized early on in the Occupation daily the overall feeling of the French in a July 1940 letter, “[If] the French gain nothing from [England’s potential] victory… they know nonetheless that they have everything to lose if Hitler wins… The French—embittered,

126 Cornick, “Fighting,” 80.
127 Cornick, “Fraternity,” 109.
128 Luneau, *Je vous écris,*108. “L’atmosphère de France devient franchement irrespirable. Les salles de rédaction desjournaux sont devenues des officines de fausses nouvelles.”
129 Mangold, 108. “[Pas] beau la vie, pas beau… pas manger chez maman, jamais dîner, jamais manger.”

discouraged, and disappointed—want to see Britain succeed."[130] These sentiments and others articulate French citizen's utter loathing towards their occupiers and seemed to be united not only through this disdain but also through Radio Londres, which allowed them to vocalize their dissent.

These letters were important because otherwise the BBC would not have any way of knowing how successful the radio broadcasts were.[131] Radios were becoming increasingly scarce by the end of the occupation. In 1940, French citizens only owned 5-6 million short and long-range radio sets for a population of about 41 million;[132] by 1944 the number of radio sets rose slightly to almost 10 million, but it was impossible to obtain a set of parts to repair radios except by "stealing them."[133] German countermeasures are responsible for the increasing rarity of radios. In 1941 Radio Paris endeavored to control the supply of spare parts and wireless sets. Later there would be a complete ban on radio sets and spare parts in the Occupied Zone, and in October 1942 the sale of new sets was also banned.[134] Radios in France became a "precious commodity."[135]

The scarcity of sets meant that audiences listened to Radio Londres in groups. While it is unclear if the BBC encouraged that audiences listened in groups, as it had encouraged its audiences to do, French audiences may have organized themselves into groups out of convenience. For instance, if only one person owned a radio set in a neighborhood, neighbors could go home after listening to the English broadcast without breaking curfew. Sometimes groups of listeners would accumulate in cafes or other public spaces to listen to the BBC. In more rural areas individuals

[130] Cornick, "Fighting," 80.
[131] Brooks, 53.
[132] Cornick, "Fraternity," 102.
[133] Mitchell, 123.
[134] Brooks, 55.
[135] Cornick, "Fraternity," 110.

could listen more freely, yet due to the scarcity of radio sets groups of people still congregated together, eager for news.[136]

Group listening also provided French audiences with a way to unite together against the Germans as a form of resistance. Even though German occupiers knew that they couldn't adequately prohibit French citizens from listening to English radio, they still attempted to implement a number of measures to combat it aside from banning the sales of sets. The first method was, of course, an overall ban on listening to English radio. In the Southern Zone, a ban on listening became law on November 3,1940; this ban was later expanded with a law prohibiting group listening in August 1941. In the Occupied Zone, the ban was "regularly flouted," not only by French citizens but also by German and Italian soldiers who listened to the BBC openly in cafes.[137] When the ban did not work, attempts were made at jamming the signal. To jam the signal, another "over-powered" signal is emitted at the same time in the same frequency range.[138] However, jamming a signal came at a price. German-controlled transmitters used for jamming could not also be used to carry the signal of collaborationist propaganda. Jamming a signal also prevented counter-intelligence gathering on the BBC and Allied movements.[139] The use of jamming made English broadcasts indistinguishable through all the noise that resulted, but French audiences had learned to account for the extra noise by adjusting the radio dial or by listening carefully through the noise.

The jammed radio broadcast could easily be heard outside of people's homes, meaning those walking past would know who was listening to English broadcasts. This put listeners at risk

[136] Ibid., 108.
[137] Brooks, 120.
[138] Margaret Rouse, "Definition: Frequency Jammer," *WhatIs.com*, July 2014, accessed 10 December 2015, http://whatis.techtarget.com/definition/frequency-jammer.
[139] Brooks, 121.

as home raids were common, and the sound of jamming made particular households in urban areas easy targets by the collaborationist French police.[140] Furthermore, those who listened to English radio were *de facto* enemies of France.[141] Many consequences were implemented for illegally listening to English broadcasts, including fines between 200 to 1,000 francs and prison sentences from six days to two years. The death penalty was also proposed as a potential deterrent of illegal radio listening, but the Vichy government determined that such a law would not at all be successful.[142] Furthermore, it proved quite difficult to charge anyone for listening to foreign radio as long as the listener managed to change the dial before the radio was confiscated as evidence.[143]

And so consequences of listening to Radio Londres proved ineffectual; nothing, not even the jamming, deterred French citizens from tuning in. The only solution would be to confiscate all radios from French citizens, meaning they could not listen to English or German-controlled radio broadcasts. But even total confiscation was impossible. Confiscating all 10 million or so radio sets in 1944 would require the man-power of 3,000 officers over the course of three years, or alternatively, 12,000 officers over three months—German occupiers had neither the time nor the resources to implement this solution.[144]

140 Mitchell, 7.
141 Luneau, *Radio Londres*, 144.
142 Mitchell, 75.
143 Brooks, 121.
144 Mitchell, 123.

## 2.5 A Song of Resistance

As positive as these responses to the BBC may appear, it only reaffirmed the French listeners' disdain for the German occupiers, not enthusiastic support for the French Résistance. According to communication scientist Kelly Jakes, public opinion of the French resistance was particularly low, perhaps as low as that of the German occupiers. There are multiple reasons for this discrepancy, but the prime reason is most likely due to the popularity of Pétain, who was a hero of the Great War.[145] By successfully stopping the German attack on the city of Verdun in 1916, Pétain earned the sobriquet "Hero of Verdun," and, for many, Pétain had once again saved France by preventing a complete and hostile takeover by the Germans through the Armistice.[146] Adding to this image, French and German propaganda appealed strongly to French sentiments of nationalism by painting Pétain as the exemplar of "Frenchness." Additionally, many people, citizens and resisters alike, appreciated Pétain at least for a short time because of his appeals to Catholicism and a return to French roots through concepts of peasantry and folk in his conception of the Révolution nationale.[147] As Jakes reports, one propaganda poster displayed Pétain's stately image with caption reading, "Are you more French than him?"[148]

For these reasons, the BBC was very careful to not critique the figure of Pétain, as many citizens in France viewed the head of the Vichy government as making the best out of a terrible situation.[149] Such a sentiment is voiced in a letter to the BBC from one French listener early in the Occupation:

[145] Jakes, 320.
[146] "Philippe Pétain," *Britannica Academic*, accessed 18 January 2018, http://academic.eb.com.pitt.idm.oclc.org/levels/collegiate/article/Philippe-Pétain/59411.
[147] Fulcher, 20.
[148] Jakes, 320.
[149] Brooks, 5.

> "We would like that no ill is spoken of Maréchal Pétain, whom we respect and admire. He is making in great strokes the same sacrifice that each one of us makes on a smaller scale. It was necessary that it be he who asks for this discipline so that we follow. And he tries to do well. These measures taken by him are now indispensable and will do the greatest good for our country if they are applied justly."[150]

This limitation on the BBC's ability to critique the head of France was at the benefit of German radio stations and propaganda. Problematically, London also controlled all messages and information on the French Résistance until 1943, meaning members of the Résistance could not speak for themselves. Germany not only buttressed Pétain but also painted a denigrating image of the French Résistance army. The French *maquis*, Vichy radio argued, was comprised of a group of "bandits and thieves" as well as young boys led astray by radio propaganda from London.[151] Describing the French Résistance as a fragmented and chaotic group of uncivilized criminals and childish boys going through their rebellious stage in life positions the Résistance against notions of French identity, which is founded on ideals of French republican rationalism and civility. And so once again, French audiences had to interpret contrasting information about the resistance for themselves, but this particular form of propaganda from German sources was effective for quite some time.

[150] Luneau, *Je vous écris*, 47-48. "Nous aimerions que l'on ne dise pas de mal du maréchal Pétain que nous respectons et admirons. Il fait en grand le sacrifice que chacun de nous fait en petit. Il fallait que ce soit lui qui demande cette discipline pour que nous suivions. Et il essaie de bien faire. Ces mesures prises par lui actuellement étaient indispensables et feront le plus grand bien à notre pays si elles sont appliquées en toute justice."
[151] Jakes, 321.

However, as described above, attitudes towards Pétain and Vichy would eventually turn as the constraints of life under occupation exhausted French citizens. Curfews and rations transitioned from mere inconveniences to true hardships as the years of occupation dragged on. A more impactful consequence of the Occupation, however, was the noticeable deportation of French citizens. In the first half of the Occupation, Pétain held leverage over Germany in the deportation of foreign Jews and to concentration camps, but Vichy had exhausted this leverage by 1942 and had to turn to other sources of bargaining power to maintain some sort of authority with Germany. To mitigate this problem Pétain turned towards deporting Résistance members and enforced stricter police action and surveillance to do so. This new police scrutiny further affected French citizens' opinions against the French Résistance, not out of character assassination against the resistance members but because of the fear of arrest by their own government and retaliation of German forces.[152] At the same time, Vichy saw fit to deport French Jews to Germany as well, a decision that unsettled many French citizens completely. Through these actions, French citizens saw Pétain's Révolution nationale as an exclusionary venture meant for a specific type of French person at the expense of others, mainly Jews. As Jane Fulcher states, "As a result, for many Frenchmen by the summer of 1942 patriotism and nationalism were incarnated not by Vichy but rather by the Résistance."[153]

Despite its anti-Pétainist commentary, the BBC did have an advantage over German propaganda broadcast on state radio by the sheer fact the BBC held a larger audience for Radio Londres each night. Officials in London reconfigured programs to harness this audience by 1943. In a letter to the Political Warfare Executive dated February 15, 1943, André Philip, the Interior

[152] Ibid.
[153] Fulcher, 19.

Minister of the Free French, conceived of a means for the French resistance to speak for themselves, "I believe that this dispute could be reconciled by the creation of a single station, called 'the French Resistance,' managed and operated jointly at all levels, by the English services and those services of the fighting French."[154] At this point, the BBC already had a similar station called Radio Gaulle, which was controlled by the Political Warfare Executive and the Free French. Unfortunately, Radio Gaulle was never successful in spurring resistance activity amongst its listeners, largely because it failed in providing any concrete instructions. Radio Gaulle most likely also offended listeners due to how it attacked Pétain. Similarly, the program Radio Patrie provided direct instructions with already existing resistance members, meaning there was no program intended for listeners not affiliated with any resistance organization.[155] After negotiations between the Political Warfare Executive, the Free French, Special Operations Executive, and various resistance members, Radio Gaulle was suspended indefinitely on May 9, 1943, and replaced by a radio segment called "Honneur et Patrie" six days later on Radio Londres.[156]

"Honneur et Patrie" was a five-minute segment that broadcast before "Les Français parlent aux Français" each night (Figure 5).[157] While "Les Français" provided commentaries reports on Allied victories and slogans as discussed above, "Honneur et Patrie" offered the Free French and the Résistance time to speak directly to its listeners. It achieved what Radio Gaulle could not by providing communication from the Résistance and also providing information to the resistance organizations from back on the continent.[158] In addition, many of the communications that de

[154] Luneau, *Radio Londres*, 246. "Je crois que cette conciliation pourrait être réalisée par la création d'un poste unique, dit 'de la Résistance française,' géré et exploité en commun à tous les échelons, par les services anglais et les services de la France combattante."
[155] Brooks, 145-146.
[156] Luneau, *Radio Londres*, 247; Brooks 107.
[157] Luneau, *Je vous écris*, 27.
[158] Luneau, *Radio Londres*, 247.

Gaulle himself made were broadcast during this program, making it perhaps one of the most memorable segments of Radio Londres broadcasts. When de Gaulle or other guests were not speaking, the Free French spokesman Maurice Schumann hosted most broadcasts.[159]

- 20h 15—20h 25 The news in French
- 20h 25—20h 30 "Honneur et Patrie" hosted by Maurice Schumann (replaced by André Gillois in April 1944)
- 20h 30—21h "Les Français parlent aux Français" hosted by Jacques Duchesne (also known as Michel Saint-Denis) and includes the following editorials:
    - "La discussion des trois amis" with Pierre Bourdan (also known as Pierre Maillaud), Duchesne, and Jean Oberlé
    - "La petit Académie" on Sundays
    - "Courrier de France" on Fridays with Jacques Borel (also known as Jacques Henri Cottance) and features letters from listeners; replaced in 1943 "Chronique de France" which features live testimonials of refugees who just arrived in England.

**Figure 5. Evening Program of Radio Londres**

But perhaps the most defining aspect of "Honneur et Patrie" was its theme song, which was performed for the program's premiere on May 17, 1943.[160] This theme, called *Le Chant des partisans*, would become the unofficial anthem of the French Résistance. *Le Chant des partisans* was composed by songwriter Anna Marley (1917-2006), née Anna Yuryevna Betulinskaya.[161] Born in St. Petersburg to an aristocratic family during the October Revolution in 1917, Marley escaped Russia with her mother as an infant and lived in various cities in Europe until finally settling in Menton, France. The young Marley eventually connected with Russian composer Sergei Prokoviev, who gave her music and guitar lessons. Knowing that she wanted to pursue a career as

[159] Brooks, 31.
[160] Luneau, *Radio Londres*, 247.
[161] Adrian Room, *Dictionary of Pseudonyms: 13,000 Assumed Names and their Origins* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2010), 315.

a singer, she chose the moniker "Marley" from a phonebook and moved to Paris in 1934 to work in cabarets at the young age of seventeen.[162]

Marley was one of the lucky few that escaped Paris and the German Blitzkrieg; in February 1941 she arrived in London, where she served meals to the Free French Forces, including de Gaulle. Soon after she resumed her role as a singer, performing songs for Allied troops in English, French, Russian, Polish, and Czech. In this context, Marley first performed *Le Chant des partisans*, which was originally in Russian and was based on a Slavic partisan song.[163] Emmanuel d'Astier, a French resistance member, heard Marley sing this original version in 1942 and connected her to André Gillois, who was de Gaulle's spokesman and was looking for a theme song for "Honneur et Patrie" as well as a tune that would lift the spirits of the *maquis* fighting back in France.[164] Marley performed on her guitar six songs for Gillois, and the tune that would become *Le Chant des partisans* was chosen.

A textless version of the resistance song premiered as the theme song of "Honneur et Patrie" on May 17, 1943; the tune was whistled by Gillois and Free French members Maurice Druon, and Claude Dauphin, which they hoped would provide the mental image of resistance fighters back in France whistling to themselves as they marched their routes.[165] The whistled version also provided listeners with a way to identify the frequency of the broadcast as the whistling could cut through the radio jamming, an accidental benefit of this performance

162 "Anna Marly; Obituary," *The Times* (London), 24 February 2006, 67, *Academic OneFile*, accessed 12 December 2017,
http://link.galegroup.com.pitt.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/A142460178/AONE?u=upitt_main&sid=AONE&xid=bab710d8; "Le Chant des partisans," *Music and the Holocaust*, accessed 24 January 2018,
http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/resistance-and-exile/french-resistance/le-chant-des-partisans/.
163 "Anna Marley."
164 Anna Marley, *Mémoires: Troubadour de la Résistance* (Little Big Man, 2000), 90.
165 Richard Raskin, "'Le Chant des Partisans': Functions of a Wartime Song," *Folklore* 102, no. 1 (1991), 64.

decision.[166] By the end of May 1943 Druon and his uncle Joseph Kessel composed the lyrics for *Le Chant des partisans*, loosely based on Marley's original lyrics:[167]

Ami, entends-tu
Le vol noir des corbeaux
Sur nos plaines ?

Ami, entends-tu
Les cris sourds du pays
Qu'on enchaîne ?

Ohé partisans,
Ouvriers et paysans
C'est l'alarme !

Ce soir l'ennei
Connâitra le prix du sang
Et des larmes.

Friend, do you hear
The black flight of ravens
Over our plains?

Friend, do you hear
The muted cries of the country
Put in chains?

Come on, partisans,
Workers and peasants,
The alarm has sounded!

Tonight the enemy
Will know the price of blood
And tears.

Much of the success of *Le Chant des partisans* was due to its brevity and limited vocal range, which makes it easy to remember and sing. As seen in Figure 6, the song is a fixed bipartite form, which is characteristic of *chanson populaire* that many listeners were familiar with. Each section contains two stanzas, and as a whole, the two sections only extend one octave, which is a relatively small and manageable vocal range. The rhythm is identical in both sections with one slight inclusion of a turn figure in measure 6. Furthermore, both sections end the same. Just like the short slogans and tunes that Radio Londres used during its program "Les Français parlent aux Français," the main theme of "Honneur et Patrie" was quite catchy and simple for listeners to learn and replicate.

166 "Anna Marley."
167 Lyrics translated by Raskin, 63. This is the first verse.

**Figure 6.** ***Le Chant des partisans*** **Melody**

As stated above, the radio program "Honneur et Patrie" did not use *Les Chant des partisans* with the lyrics. However, Jakes and French scholar Richard Raskin have determined that both the lyrics and the melody of this song did a lot of psychological reworking for its listeners and users, mainly by reconfiguring opinions surrounding the French Résistance to reflect French republican ideals and a shared cultural history. French political songs were necessary during the Revolution as the nation transitioned from a monarchy to a republic and subjects became democratic citizens, since group singing was an accessible way of participating in civic life. By doing so, singers established their understanding of nationhood, and songs were used to disseminate ideas of "Frenchness," such as a unified language and a collected concept of civil and moral ideals. Such community singing would become important during World War I as well, as Jakes states, "Indeed, by 1940, national singing was not a form of entertainment, but a radically democratic performance practice that allowed individuals to simultaneously contribute to the meaning of nationhood and derive their own unique interpretations of what Frenchness meant."[168]

However, the lyrics of *Le Chant des partisans* sometimes conflicted with French civil and moral ideas, as it often calls for violence and bloodshed that may have been perceived as distasteful

[168] Jakes, 323.

among its listeners. Raskin posits that by 1943 it as generally understood that violence and bloodshed would be the necessary way to liberate France of its occupiers. *La Marseillaise* itself is a violent and bloody song, containing such language as “Qu’un sang impur/ Abreuve nos sillons!” (“Let impure blood/Water our furrows!”). Such lyrics connect listeners to a shared triumphant history that is meant more to evoke pride more so than call for actual violence, as *Le Chant des partisans* called for. The task of *Le Chant des partisans*, then, was to impart on its listeners and singers—both citizens and resistance fighters alike—that such bloodshed was not only necessary but also legitimate.[169]

This meant that the maquis fighting on behalf of the country were legitimate by extension. *Le Chant des partisans* carries the heavy burden of recasting the resistance fighters from a disorganized group of adolescent boys to the perfect embodiment of Frenchness by evoking ideals of liberté, egalité, and franternité.[170] Resistance fighters become akin to their “republican forefathers” who liberated the country from a tyrannical government.[171] Raskin explains that the lyrics tactically positions the maquis as liberators of the country by presenting them as the ones who sounded the alarm to the threat of the occupiers (“C’est l’arme!”) and responded to the needs of the nation (“Ami, entends du/Les cris sourds du pays/Qu’on enchaîne?”).[172]

The song also informs the listener that the maquis did not consist of a group of inexperienced and uncivilized boys but someone the listener knows: French farmers and workers, common citizens, neighbors, and friends (“Ohé, partisans/Ouvriers et paysans/C’est l’arlarme!”). And, in a sobering way, when one of these fighters falls in battle, another steps in to take their

169 Raskin, 68.
170 Ibid., 70.
171 Jakes 325, 328.
172 Raskin, 70.

place ("Ami, si tu tombes/Un ami sort de l'ombre/A ta place."). The idea that French brothers and sisters may die in this war appeals to the final ideal of equality. Jakes believes that the song depicts soldiers of the Résistance as equally integral towards the fight for liberation. All fighters suffer the same hardships and all will "die like dogs" for the sake of their country.[173] By appealing to republican ideals of French identity, *Le Chant des partisans* makes one last plea to French listeners to have faith in the movement and to join them in their shared mission: "Whistle companions… In the night, freedom listens to us" ("Sifflez compagnons…/Dans la nuit, la liberté/Nous écoute"). The symbolism enveloped into the lyrics is perhaps what impressed Marley, even though it was not exactly her words: "I tried it… It was beautiful. It stuck marvelously. I did not dare admit that I had my own text in my pocket. I did not show it, unfortunately, but I was slightly upset. [This text] was beautiful, very beautiful, even."[174]

### 2.6 Conclusion: Listening as Resistance

French citizens found strength and a sense of purpose by listening together and listening to each other. By listening together, many French citizens united together to both display their dissent and actively resist their occupiers by disregarding laws against listening to British radio. In doing so, this act of resistance emboldened the French to show their dissent to the Germans in other ways. One young woman wrote to the BBC about other methods of showing French solidarity by wearing a red rose on King George's birthday or carrying a coin on a green ribbon that had "RAF"

[173] Jakes, 327. The line "Nous on crève" is widely translated as "We die like dogs."
[174] Marley, 94. "Je l'essayais... C'était beau. Ça collait merveilleusement. Je n'osai pas avouer que j'avais mon propre texte dans la poche. Je ne le montrai pas, tant pis, mais j'étais légèrement vexée. Celui-là était beau, très beau même."

engraved on it, demonstrating support for British Royal Air Force. Other letters reported that the letter "V" (representing Allied Forces Victory) in chalk appeared in areas of the Occupied Zone shortly after a similar campaign occurred in Belgium; Paris was plastered in V's in 1941.[175] The BBC was also successful at encouraging forms of mass civil resistance, such demonstrations of protest on May Day 1942, which brought 100,000 people to the streets of Marseilles.[176]

Resistance through listening was an unintentional consequence of French people tuning in to the BBC. And with the introduction of Anna Marley's composition *Le Chant des partisans* and the program "Honneur et Patrie" in 1943, group listening turned into group singing. Since singing or performing *La Marseillaise* was banned, *Le Chant des partisans* became the temporary national anthem of France. The sheet music with its lyrics were disseminated through France via underground newspapers like *Combat* so that people could learn and use it for resistance efforts. French Résistance fighters whistled the tune to identify each other on operations.[177] And sadly, it was customary to sing *Le Chant des partisans* followed by *La Marseillaise* when soldiers died in combat.[178]

Sociologist Kurt Schock defines "civil resistance" as "the sustained use of methods of nonviolent action by civilians engaged in asymmetric conflicts with opponents not averse to using violence to defend their interests." Schock also claims that civil resistance is "rooted in individual ethics and civic responsibility." This suggests that those who participated in non-violent resistance were an extension of the resistance organizations' tactics, for instance, the non-violent strategies employed by Mohandas Gandhi or Martin Luther King Jr. in fighting racial injustice.[179] But does

175 Cornick, "Fighting," 82-83.
176 Mangold, 115.
177 "Anna Marley."
178 "Le Chant…"
179 Kurt Schock, "The Practice and Study of Civil Resistance," *Journal of Peace Research* 50 (3): 277-278.

non-violent resistance have to be a conscious tactic of a social movement? As stated above, the French collective listening to the BBC is not necessarily a social movement, yet the action of listening was a form of resistance that the German occupiers wanted to deter; the act of listening was a powerful force that one could measure by Germany's negative response.

Sociologist Gene Sharp describes the power of resistance as the withdrawal of consent and cooperation from the ruling power. Should enough people refuse to support the ruling power in this way, then the ruling power "may be undermined and perhaps eliminated," as forces in power depend on the submission of their constituents.[180] This certainly describes what had occurred in France during the occupation. Though most people did not outright oppose German rule by actively joining the French Resistance, many did disobey their occupiers by tuning in to British radio programs. The consequences of police raids, fines, or imprisonment could not deter French audiences from neglecting the ruling force's orders to listen to the BBC. In the end, Germany had to concede to the fact that radio listening to England was force that could not be controlled. A report on French public opinion by the BBC concisely articulated the true strength that listening holds in bringing people together: "[The French] forget their personal worries and are drawn together in a single thought. People gather round their radio sets, seeking and finding strength with which to face the morrow."[181] The optimistic sentiment expressed in this quote is certainly up to debate, but more importantly, highlights just how powerful the action of listening could be as a resistant force.

[180] Ibid., 279-280.
[181] Cornick, "Fighting," 79-80.

## 3.0 From Collaboration to Resistance: Pierre Schaeffer's Journey through the Radio

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the radio proved to be a powerful tool during the Occupation, one which allowed citizens to subversively defy the occupiers and foster a sense of collectivity among listeners. Many different agents from state officials to powers back in Germany sought to similarly use the radio to influence listeners' opinions through the distribution of their propaganda. However, not everyone who participated and worked for state-controlled radio stations supported those ends or even could fit the label of "collaborator." Recently, musicological and Vichy scholarship examines how there are degrees of collaboration different people participated in through the figure of composer and radio technician Pierre Schaeffer (1910-1995). Following the Occupation Schaeffer was identified as resistant, particularly because of how he aided the Libération through radio broadcast. For the majority of the Occupation Schaeffer worked for state-controlled radio stations, primarily Vichy Radio and then later Radiodiffusion nationale; it was not until 1944 that Schaeffer actively aided any particular resistance organization. The central question at the heart of Schaeffer's story, then, can one be resistant while actively participating and engaging in collaborating efforts?

In this chapter, I analyze how Pierre Schaeffer, a significant figure within the field of broadcasting, explored subversive themes and messaging through the use of the radio during his journey from collaboration to resistance. This journey is no better represented than through his radio drama *La Coquille à planètes*. Written and recorded in 1943 at his Studio d'Essai, a studio sponsored by Radiodiffusion nationale, the drama is a phantasmagorical story in which the main character meets the signs of the Zodiac. While the drama does not have any relation to the Résistance or even display resistance themes, Schaeffer and many others identified it as a

resistance work quickly following the Libération. Unfortunately, most scholarship merely mention that the work was created during the Occupation with no critical inquiry into the claims that Schaeffer had made about it.

I argue that although *La Coquille à planètes* is *not* a resistance work per se, it is a representation of Schaeffer's journey to the resistance by exploring the themes of anxiety, isolation, and loss that many other people felt with the advent of the Occupation. First I follow Schaeffer's movement from the "collaborationist" organization Jeune France in Vichy to the Studio d'Essai in Paris to identify his motivations for working with these groups. Then I analyze Schaeffer's incredibly important work with resistance organization in 1944. This provides the fundamental background for a critical examination of *La Coquille à planètes*, which will ask a prime question: can a work that has little to do with the Résistance actually be a resistance composition?

## 3.1 Pierre Schaeffer and Jeune France's French Utopia

As is continuously noted in current scholarship on the Occupation of France, not all citizens immediately positioned themselves within the Résistance nor did they all willingly collaborate. Instead, as I also maintain in this project, there are degrees of both resistance and collaboration, depending on the needs and constraints of each individual. Pierre Schaeffer is a prime example of this scenario. Schaeffer, like many others, did not necessarily see the end of the Third Republic and the creation of Occupied and Unoccupied zones as "bad." Ever the idealist, Schaeffer instead viewed the installment of the Vichy regime as an opportunity to help shape a better future for France as a whole, similarly to the various resistance factions that formed during the Occupation.

Schaeffer's position as a prominent radio technician provided him an opportunity to do so through radio messaging.

Best known today for his compositional technique *musique concrète*, Pierre Schaeffer was born in 1910 in Nancy to two musical parents. Despite his pedigree, he pursued a career in radio by attending the École Polytechnic at the age of nineteen and then the École Supérieure d'Électricité et des Télélcommunications after he graduated. Later in 1936, Schaeffer found employment with Radiodiffusion française where he was in charge of music recordings from the Opéra de Paris.[182] Music and radio recording was not Schaeffer's sole passion, as he was also a devout and fervent Catholic. By the 1930s Schaeffer was involved with the Catholic youth movement through a scouting group called the "Routiers" (Rover Scouts).[183] The appeal of the scouting groups for Schaeffer was the sense of community that was fostered through camping trips and communal life, a community that encouraged "personal liberty" in the search for a utopia that was inspired by the concept of Christian transcendence. This lifestyle that Schaeffer experienced through the scouting group influenced many of the decisions Schaeffer would make, including his belief that he could adopt a non-political stance since it would be incompatible with his idealized utopia.[184]

This in part helps explain some of the decisions Schaeffer would make with the onset of the Occupation. Schaeffer saw an opportunity to merge his two passions of sound engineering and the scouting groups in the Vichy regime, which sought to influence French youth through communication technologies. Just as the Germans came to obtain the radio stations in the Occupied

[182] Le Bail, 128.
[183] A "Catholic scouting group" is basically a Catholic oriented boy or girl scout group, similar to the Boy and Girl Scouts of America.
[184] Fulcher, 128-129.

Zone, Maréchal Philippe Pétain saw the importance of establishing a similar station in Vichy where the government could directly communicate information and propaganda, which it did through the installation of Vichy Radio.[185] Schaeffer began planning a project in July 1940 concomitant with the newly established radio station: a program called Radio Jeunesse. The fifteen-minute program would serve as the direct link that Vichy needed to communicate to the youth to curry favor for Pétain's "Révolution nationalle," which focused on returning to France's traditionalism and centering on the "organic communities of the French family, the workplace, and the region."[186]

Schaeffer attempted to express these ideals through folkloric music and peasant themes, as displayed in one program called "La Résponse des jeunes au message du Maréchal." Presented in seven sections from the fourteenth through the twentieth of October 1940, Schaeffer dramatized the French youth's reaction to Pétain's speeches.[187] Choirs of young men would alternate between spoken and sung texts in response to Pétain's words, and the character of Pétain was performed for the program by pianist and collaborator Alfred Cortot.[188] For the program Schaeffer composed the song *Sous les cloches de fête* (*Under the Bells of [Easter] Celebration*):

| | |
|---|---|
| Sous les cloches de fête | Under the bells of [Easter] celebration |
| Nous sommes nés. | We are born |
| Sous le glas des défaites | Under the knell of defeats |
| Nos vingt ans ont sonné | Our twenty-years have sounded |
| | |
| Si la France est meurtrie | If France is wounded |
| Ses gars vaillants | Her young men |
| Et ses filles jolies | And pretty daughters |
| Luis feront ce serment: | Make her this promise: |
| Nous te relèverons! | We will raise you up! |

[185] Ibid., 131.
[186] Ibid., 16.
[187] Le Bail, 191.
[188] Alexander Stalarow, "Listening to a Liberated Paris: Pierre Schaeffer Experiments with Radio," Ph.D. diss., University of California Davis, 2016, 24.

| Debout jeunes de France<br>Levez le front<br>En vous luit l'espérance<br>Des années qui viendront. | Rise up youths of France<br>Hold your head up high<br>In you shines hopes<br>Of years that will come.[189] |
|---|---|

The themes of rebirth as demonstrated by the ringing of Easter bells resonate with Schaeffer's and many others' hope for a new start under the Vichy regime, one that was not focused on the bourgeoisie but the common people and the Catholic Church. Musicologist Alexander Stalarow observes, "This image aptly fits Vichy's cultural agenda, which stressed community, faith, and a Frenchness located in the rural villages and larger provincial towns, having lost Paris, its urban center."[190]

As Schaeffer would eventually come to realize, and what may be already evident to the reader, was that by partaking in such a project contradicted his desire to remain non-political—Schaeffer was willingly promoting Pétanist propaganda. Several events may have directed Schaeffer towards this realization. According to Jane Fulcher, many individuals, including some Résistance factions, viewed Vichy as the last shield against Nazism taking hold across all of France. Furthermore, Catholics were attracted to Pétain because of his emphasis on the Church. Admirable feelings towards Pétain began to change with his November 1940 meeting with Hitler at Montoire, and many had completely turned against Vichy by 1942 when both French and foreign Jews were deported to concentration camps in Germany. Schaeffer was not quite there in his evolution yet, but he did at least, by May 1941, realize that Radio Jeunesse did not provide him with the artistic satisfaction he desired.[191]

[189] Ibid., 24-25. Translation by Stalarow.
[190] Ibid., 25.
[191] Fulcher, 24, 134-135.

New artistic endeavors, however, were already underway. In November 1940 Schaeffer along with philosopher Emmanuel Mounier and other figures such as Alfred Cortot formed the cultural organization Jeune France.[192] This organization would combine Schaeffer's passion for art with the ideology behind the Catholic scouting groups. Jeune France would focus on "creative interaction and community achieved through theatre" with the opportunity to feature new artistic projects. Certainly an idealistic venture, Schaeffer envisioned that works that came from Jeune France would not only draw inspiration from France's cultural traditions but reinvigorate and reimagine them. Schaeffer could fully explore this liberty too, as there was little oversight from officials in Vichy despite its state-sponsorship.[193]

Jeune France had two headquarters, one for each zone. Schaeffer led the headquarters of Lyon in the Unoccupied Zone while Paul Flammand directed the Parisian activities in the Occupied Zone. More specifically, Schaeffer was in charge of Jeune France's financial needs as well as overseeing its human resources. Jeune France sponsored a number of activities, including producing performances of a variety of new works and hosting creative training workshops. The organization could accept credit for producing 770 performances in its tenure, which made up half of overall staged performances in France in 1941.[194]

The lack of guidelines for overseeing Jeune France allowed for members to participate in other subversive activities. For example, an orchestra formed by Jeune France, Orchestre symphonique de France (which performed in the organization's musical productions), hired Jewish musicians against Vichy's racial laws. Members of the organization also sought to hide and abate Jews, including hiding around forty-five Jewish families in the convent that also housed Jeune

[192] Stalarow, 26.
[193] Fulcher, 138, 140.
[194] Stalarow, 26, 27.

France's Lyon headquarters.[195] Furthermore, the thematic material present in Jeune France's performances resembled less and less that of Pétain's Révolution nationalle. With the large crowds that Jeune France's performances attracted, administrators were bound to take notice of this fact eventually. The work that seemed to be the tipping point was *Portique pour une jeune fille de France* (1941), an "elaborate pageant celebration" in honor of Joan of Arc's feast day on May 11th. With libretto by Schaeffer and Pierre Barbier and music by Yves Baudrier, Léo Préger, and Olivier Messiaen, Jeune France produced three simultaneous performances of *Portique pour une jeune fille de France* and attracted massive crowds: 35,000 attendees in Lyon, 25,000 in Marseille, and 20,000 in Toulouse.[196]

As it is out of the scope of this project to do a thorough analysis of *Portique*, it would be remiss not to point towards Stalarow's 2016 dissertation and Jane Fulcher's latest text *Renegotiating French Identity*, both of which provide a very contextualized analysis of the work. That being said, while *Portique* elucidated some Vichy ideals such as a focus on community, ritual, and peasantry, other themes within the work did not. Fulcher argues that the work was "meant to serve a socially reflexive function" and encourage audiences to critically evaluate their current political situation. Vichy realized that Jeune France was a nonconformist entity that failed to adequately present its propaganda; similarly, Schaeffer and other members of Jeune France realized its goals did not align with that of Vichy. And so in December of 1941 Schaeffer was removed as director of Jeune France, and, facing accusations of harboring communist Jews, Jeune France was dismantled by March of the next year. [197]

[195] Fulcher, 142.
[196] Ibid., 157; Stalarow 27, 28, 30.
[197] Fulcher, 157-159, 162, 163.

### 3.2 The Studio d'Essai—From New Artistic Endeavors to the Résistance

Considering Schaeffer's wish to remain "non-political" in his work during the Occupation, one might assume that he would work for neither state or resistance organizations following the fallout from Jeune France and he would work in private until the war was over, as many other composers and intellectuals did. So it is curious that almost immediately after being dismissed from Jeune France Schaeffer would find himself in Paris with his former radio team to start a new endeavor with Radiodiffusion nationale. Desiring new and better methods of disseminating propaganda over the radio, Schaeffer was asked by Radiodiffusion nationale to create a studio in Paris for radio experimentation and professional workshops, which would produce content that may or may not then be broadcast. Seemingly, Schaeffer could not pass up the opportunity to form a "Conservatoire de la radio" where he could experiment and improve the radio experiences of art music and drama. On November 3, 1942, the "test studio" was formed.[198] In an unassuming townhouse in the seventh arrondissement, 37 rue de l'Université would officially become the Studio d'Essai on the first of the new year.

The main activities of the Studio d'Essai was to create a "doctrine concerning the diffusion of an 'émission artistique radiophonique," and this was done through group listening exercises (similar to those discussed in Chapter 1), the curation of disc recordings, colloquiums, technical workshops, and live recordings of new material.[199] In a "Note" concerning the efforts of the studio from July 6, 1943, this mission was poetically stated: "The Studio d'Essai received from the Directors of the National Radiobroadcasting the mission of researching what is likely to improve

[198] Le Bail, 192; Fulcher, 170.
[199] Fulcher, 171; Stalarow, 48.

the artistic and technical quality of their programs. This is a perilous mission that cannot be completed in a day. Also, the managers of the Studio d'Essai specify that they do not intend to release a masterpiece at a fixed date or even offer lessons to anyone. Quality is their only ambition, their only concern."[200] In this note, the Studio d'Essai attempted to assert a type of professional authority over its craft and also give the air of independence from the Radiodiffusion nationale.

Also in July 1943, the Studio d'Essai created a "programme" for Radiodiffusion nationale highlighting the different but high-quality artists it worked with and the types of radio genres it explored. The Studio drew in significant names in its production, including Jacques Copeau (who was in charge of the radio team) and Jean Cocteau as a head writer. Experienced composers Arthur Honegger, Francis Poulenc, and Marcel Delannoy were asked to compose for the Studio to give them a chance to compose for radio. Younger composers who were brought in to compose for the radio station's "previous shows" included Yves Baudrier, Jean Francaise, Olivier Messiaen, Léo Prager, and Henri Sauget. Following the acknowledgment of the production crew, was a lengthy list of the different genres that the Studio d'Essai explored: "The object of this list is to initiate a recognition of all radio genres and to attempt to circumscribe them to proper standards. It includes only entirely original works that would be ordered by young authors or young composers."[201] This list included dramatic poetry, radio dramas, stories, radio oratorios, film music, radio choruses, and montages and variety music. Some of these works would be completely new and composed

[200] "Le Studio d'Essai a reçu des Directeurs de la Radiodiffusion Nationale la mission de rechercher ce qui est de nature à améliorer la qualité artistique et technique des émissions. Mission périlleuse qui ne saurait être remplie en un jour. Aussi les responsables, du Studio d'Essai précisont qu'ils n'ont pas la prétention le sortir à date fixe un chef d'œuvre ni même de donner des leçons de radio à qui que ce soit. La qualité est leur seule ambition, leur seul souci." "Note sur le Studio d'Essai," 6 July 1943, IMEC, Pierre Schaeffer Archives, 193.878, accessed 13 June 2017.

[201] "L'object de cette liste est d'amorcer une reconnaissance de tous les genres radiophoniques et de tenter de les circonscrire par des règles propres. Elle ne comprend que les Oeuvres entièrement originales qui seraient commandées à de jeunes auteurs ou à de jeunes musiciens." "Studio d'Essai Programme 1943," IMEC, Pierre Schaeffer Archives, 193.878, accessed 13 June 2017.

for the test studio, others, such as a "Passion" with music by Messiaen, was recorded live in April of 1943 and would be adapted for radio broadcast by the Studio.[202] Under a specific genre called "Directeurs de conscience" (directors of recognition), a work by Schaeffer, titled "Les Signes du Zodiaque," is listed. This would become *La Coquille à planètes*, and perhaps indicates the moment when production on the work began.

The very last paragraph of this document is noteworthy, as it alludes to lessons Schaeffer may have learned from Jeune France: "These are the traits of a certain entrepreneurial spirit to which we are firmly committed. The status that has been granted to the Studio d'Essai seems to make it possible to pursue such an endeavor with the necessary independence and continuity."[203] This seems to be justification for independence, similar to the note from above, from oversight that Schaeffer assumed he had in Jeune France, and the program included with this statement acts as evidence for the productivity of the Studio. To this end, Schaeffer seemed to be successful, for the projects that he conducted at the Studio d'Essai were far different than anything he had done for Radio Vichy and fulfilled his creative and artistic urges.

Even if the main activity of the Studio d'Essai concerned artistic endeavors, though, it was not possible to be "non-political." Many members of the Studio d'Essai crew, for example, were actively part of the Résistance. This included author Albert Ollivier, who was involved in the resistance journal *Combat*, and Schaeffer's own secretary Renée Diabri who was "among the early résistants." Other Studio d'Essai members associated with resistance organizations were François Deveze, André Papiau, and Victor Jean-Louis, as well as many other students and technicians of

[202] It is unclear what "Passion" by Messiaen is referred to, since he did not compose a new Passion that premiered in 1943 but had composed a couple passions before this period.

[203] "Telles sont les caractérisation d'un certain esprit d'entreprise auquel nous sommes fermement attachés. Le statut qui a été accordé au Studio d'Essai, permet, semble-t-il de poursuivre un tel effort avec l'indépendance et la continuité nécessaires." Ibid.

the Studio.[204] Shortly after the two reports discussed above, Schaeffer himself would join a resistance organization. He connected with Jean Guigenbert, a journalist in charge of the Comité de la liberation de la radio, which Schaeffer joined on August 5, 1943, under the alias "Tobie."[205] As Schaeffer moved from passive collaboration to active resistance, he and the Studio d'Essai worked on his latest artistic endeavor, the radio drama *La Coquille à planètes*.

### 3.3 *La Coquille à planètes*, or a "Funny Time for a Funny Experiment"

*La Coquille à planètes* is a radio drama in eight one-hour long episodes. The libretto was written by Pierre Schaeffer and the music was composed by Claude Arrieu in the years 1943 to 1944.[206] Born Louise-Marie, Arrieu began using the pseudonym "Claude" early in her career to avoid gender-bias. Arrieu had known Schaeffer since at least 1935 when she worked for Radiodiffusion nationale and attended Schaeffer's six-month training program to become Assistant Head of Sound Effects.[207] She worked for the radio station until July 1941, when she was dismissed because of the second Statut des juifs. Arrieu's inclusion in the production of *La Coquille à planètes* was significant then, as she was a Jew that Schaeffer helped hide in his home at Belleveu.[208] *La Coquille à planètes* was recorded in the Studio d'Essai with a choir and orchestra directed by Madeleine Sauvageot, Andréw Girard, and Edouard Bervilly. Schaeffer intended to

[204] Biographies of these resistance individuals can be found at IMEC in the Pierre Schaeffer Archives, 129.1278, accessed 15 June 2017.
[205] Fulcher, 174.
[206] Schaeffer has categorized *La Coquille à planètes* as a "radio opera" but in my opinion the work does not fit the category of an opera as there are only brief musical interludes and occasional background music. The focus of the work is on the dialogue, which does not necessarily depend on the music to convey its meaning. That is why I use the term "radio drama" instead.
[207] Stalarow, 57-58.
[208] Fulcher, 172.

broadcast the work presumably on Radiodiffusion nationale as early as July 1943, although this broadcast never occurred.[209]

According to Stalarow, the use of the word "coquille" (shell) in the title represents the object of the radio and its ability to connect listeners with the "natural and cosmic wonders that surround them."[210] The radio can connect individuals with other disembodied voices and create a sound-world that transports them to another time and space. It is a fitting title for a story about an individual's interaction with cosmic beings. Schaeffer included the subtitle "Suite fantastique pour une voix et douze monstres," as the main character is supposed to encounter the twelve signs of the Zodiac in one night.

Astrology and studying the mythology of the Zodiac was in vogue in Paris and elsewhere in Western Europe by World War II. This is due to a couple of notable events relating to the Zodiac that occurred in the inter-war period. In 1922, the famous Dendera Zodiac, a sandstone bas-relief that depicts the signs of the Zodiac which France took from Egypt in 1821, was moved from the Royal Library of Louis XVIII to the Louvre Museum, where it is held today.[211] In both the United States and the United Kingdom, the modern depiction of daily horoscopes were developed in newsprint, popularized by the printing of the infant Princess Margaret's horoscope in the *Sunday Express*, which was divined by astrologist R.H. Naylor. The response was so positive that the horoscope column was printed weekly and other newspapers followed suit. Only the advent of World War II interrupted such regular publication.[212]

[209] Stalarow, 49.
[210] Ibid., 51.
[211] Christine Smith, "The Power of Corrupt Political Environments and its Effects on Museums: A Look at Egypt's Modern-Day 'Indiana Jones': Dr. Zahi Hawass," M.A. thesis, History, State University of New York College at Buffalo, 2014, 54.
[212] Nicholas Campion, *Astrology and Popular Religion in the Modern West: Prophesy, Cosmology, and the New Age Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2016): 77-78.

Given the popularity of the Zodiac, then, it would make sense that Schaeffer used it to catch the audience's attention in his new radiophonic endeavor. Schaeffer also explains in his 1990 introduction to the libretto that he felt in order to "reimagine" and "renew the genre" of radio, which until that point had been relegated to mostly reporting the news, he had to draw from ancient and mythological stories.[213] Using this as a point of departure, Schaeffer based his drama around the mythology of the Zodiac. However, this was not without critique, as composer and astrologist Hélène de Callias wrote to Schaeffer in 1946 concerned over his interpretation of Zodiac mythology, specifically that there are missing Zodiac signs in the drama despite claiming that all twelve would be represented.[214] In reality, only six signs hold prevalent parts, as can be seen in the credits below (Figure 7); the other six signs are instead associated with some characters but do not comprise their entire identity. This is indicated by a chart at the top of each chapter in the libretto which highlights the Zodiac signs that make an appearance (Figure 8). In response to this criticism, Schaeffer added a disclaimer at the front of his libretto warning about his casual interest in the Zodiac, in that characters representing certain signs may not be faithful to an astrologist's knowledge for them and that their presence is only for poetic inspiration.[215]

[213] Pierre Schaeffer, "Preface," in *La Coquille à planètes* Libretto, les Éditions ADES (Paris: I.N.A., 1990), 3.
[214] Stalarow, 78.
[215] Libretto, 5.

**DEDICATION**

*La Coquille à planètes* is dedicated to all those who have given their time and shared their talents as an artisan or artists: Especially:[216]

To Claude ARRIEU: Composer, closely associated with the meaning of the work
And also:
To Maurice CAZENEUVE: *Metteur en ondes*
To Marie-Louise ISSERT: Assistant
To the Sound Engineers: JEAN-LOUIS, André PAPIAU, Raymond VERCHERES

To the Principal Characters:
VOICE, Léonard: Jean-Claude alias DRANOEL
SOUL OF LÉONARD, Léone: Françoise DELILLE
ASTROLOGIST, Victorien: Louis SALOU
FIREFIGHTER: Sacha TARRIDE
ACTRESS, Blandine: Andrée CLEMENT
ANNOUNCER: Jean TOSCANE

To the Monsters:
TAURUS, the Bull of Spring: Jacqueline CARTIER
ARIES, the Retrograde Clock: Jacqueline CARTIER
AMPHORA, the man of Aquarius: André MALOUVIER
PISCES, the man of fish: Alexandre RIGNAULT
THE ARCHER, The Sagittarius: Habib BENGLIA
CANCER, SCORPIUS: Maria BRANEZE, Eliette SCHEENEBERG

To the Vocalists
Mr. Tino RABYTON, Tenor: J. PEYRON
Mme ULRA RHINO, Soprano: Geneviève TOURAINE
CASTOR GEMINI, the famous singer: Pierre BERNAC
Etc., etc.

To the Choirs and Orchestra under the direction of Madeleine SAUVAGEOT, André GIRARD, Edouard BERVILLY

**Figure 7. Dedication and Credits for *La Coquille à planètes***

216 This dedication is translated by Alexander Stalarow. The following credits are my translation.

| Sign | Element | Character | Episode Present |
|---|---|---|---|
| ARIES | Fire | The Retrograde Clock | 6 |
| TAURUS | Earth | Taurus | 1, 6 |
| GEMINI | Air | Léone | 1, 7, 8 |
| CANCER | Water | Cancer, an Alto | 4 |
| LEO | Fire | Léonard | All |
| VIRGO | Earth | Paris | 7 |
| LIBRA | Air | France | 7, 8 |
| SCORPIO | Water | Scorpio, a Soprano | 4 |
| SAGITTARIUS | Fire | Sagittarius | 2 |
| CAPRICORN | Earth | Chorus | 4 |
| AQUARIUS | Air | Ganymede | 5 |
| PISCES | Water | Zebedee | 5 |

**Figure 8. Zodiac Signs and Character Associations**

Indeed, the plot does only seem to be loosely-related to the Zodiac, and instead, it focuses on more traditional themes of love, loss, forgiveness, and acceptance. The drama centers around the protagonist Léonard, a restless young man quickly approaching his twenty-fifth birthday and who, upon purchasing his horoscope from a machine in the Sèvres-Babylone Métro station, experiences a phantasmagorical and existential journey all around Paris (Figure 9). Much to his surprise, the horoscope machine begins to speak to him, and it explains to Léonard that he will encounter all the signs of the Zodiac in one night and that he should seek out the prominent astrologist Victorien Vobiscum (which roughly translates to "Victory be with you") for help. Léonard himself represents one of the signs, Leo, as his birthday is August 5th. The machine gives Léonard an esoteric horoscope reading:

> "The Leo possesses a single desire: to make his dreams more real than reality. He is forced to impose on the universe at the price of the work of his life, but he only

has the chance to achieve this by sacrificing the integrity of his soul. If he achieves recreating the world according to the preconceived order of his all-consuming vision, it will be hardly possible for him to retain the psychic forces that he has foolishly gathered. It is only near success that he discovers the threat of universal collapse.

While around you, all life will grow, and that growth will continue the course of your good and your evil will continue, never will their distant effects touch your heart. Neither happiness nor misfortune are vested in you. Only enjoyment and disgust: the sole objects of your consumption. They will melt on your tongue and until they are only memory, unless you vomit them beforehand, as good and bad words will satisfy your unbridled taste for self-possession.

"No one Leo, and no more than another, would be able to change anything. You are neither ready for any renunciation, nor liable to any morality, for every effort and even every good intention on your part may only serve your personal glorification.

"Seize the monster. Stab him between the eyes. Tackle him with both hands, with full arms. Grab him tightly. Knee him in the entrails and smother him! Only total contact will give you access to a winning fight. Your only chance to win, and it is slim, is immoderate hand-to-hand combat."[217]

[217] "Le Lion est possédé d'un seul désir : rendre son rêve plus réel que la réalité. Il est de force à imposer à l'univers au prix de l'œuvre de sa vie, mais il n'a de chances d'y parvenir qu'en sacrifiant l'intégrité de son âme. Parvient-il à recréer le monde d'après l'ordre préconçu de sa vision dévorante, il lui sera alors à peine possible de retenir les forces psychiques par lui follement rassemblées. Ce n'est que proche du succès qu'il découvre la menace d'un écroulement universal.
"Tandis qu'autour de vous, toute vie s'accroîtra, et que se poursuivra le cours de vos bien et de vos malfaisances, jamais aucun de leurs lointains effets n'ira toucher au cœur. Ni bonheur ni malheur ne vous sont dévolus. Jouissance et dégoût seulement : les seuls objets de votre dévoration. Ils se fondront sur votre langue et jusqu'au souvenir, à moins

This rather esoteric and frightening sounding horoscope foreshadows much of what will happen in the rest of the drama. However, Victorien Vobiscum, who Léonard finds at 43 rue de Dragon in the seventh district of Paris, provides him with the missing introduction to his horoscope: "Hold fast to the flaming mane of your fiercest veracity. You are flame and fire. You will have everything, but no woman. The Lion is possessed of a single desire…"[218]

In other words, Léonard can have everything he sets his mind to except a female companion, which is the only thing he desires. As the story continues, it is revealed that Léonard's loved one (it is not clarified if she was his wife or girlfriend) had passed away and is the main cause for his existential predicament. Léonard's loss could be a biographical inclusion on Schaeffer's part, as his first wife, Elizabeth, had recently died on June 19, 1941. This leads to what Fulcher identifies as Schaeffer's own "existential crisis," which is played out in the unfolding of the drama.[219] Through the different manifestations of the Zodiac, Léonard encounters many individuals that he feels attraction to, but, as will be explored below, cannot replace the one that he lost. Actually, these figures act as a means for Léonard to find the answers to the questions that plague him, including his belief in God, his understanding of good and evil, his position as a broken individual in a crazy world.

que vous ne les vomissiez auparavant, comme bons ou mauvais mots suivant que leur saveur satisfera ou non votre goût effréné de possession de vous-même.
"Aucun Lion, et pas plus vous qu'un autre, n'y pourrait rien changer. Vous n'êtes prêt à aucun renoncement, ni justiciable d'aucune morale, car tout effort et même toute bonne intention de votre part ne peuvent que servir votre glorification personnelle.
"Saisissez donc le monstre haut le corps. Poignardez-le entre les yeux. Plaquez-le des deux mains, à pleins bras. Embrassez-le étroitement. Fouillant du genou ses entrailles, étouffez-le! Seul un contact total vous fera accéder à un combat vainqueur. Votre seule chance de salut, et elle est mince, c'est dans le corps à corps avec la Démesure." Libretto, 41-42.

218 "Cramponnez-vous à la crinière flamboyante de votre plus féroce véracité. Vous êtes flamme et feu. Vous aurez tout du monde, mais pas de femme. Le Lion est possédé d'un seul désir…" Libretto, 165.

219 Fulcher, 165.

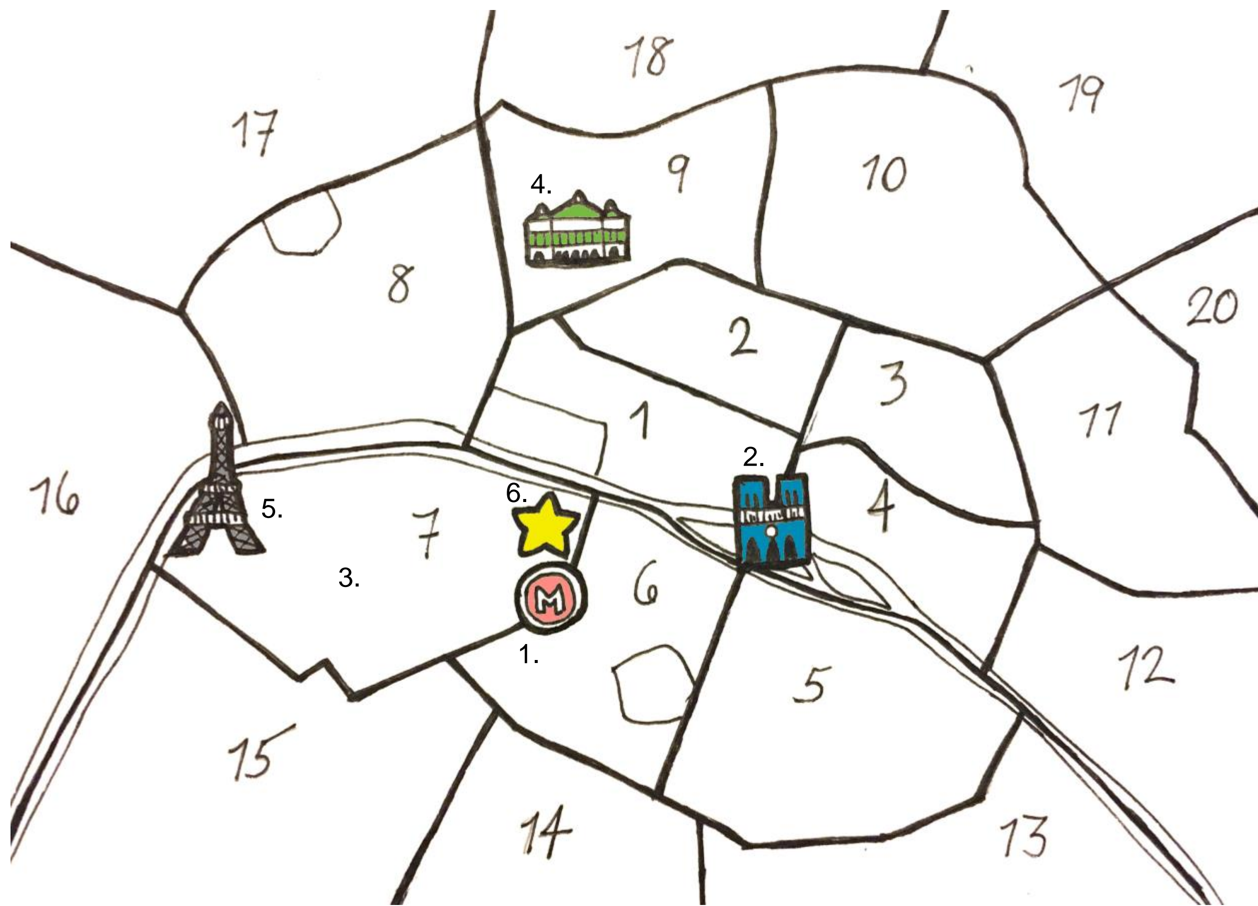


**Figure 9. Neighborhood Map of Paris, Locations in *La Coquille à planètes***

1. Sèvres-Babylone Métro station (Episode 1); 2. Notre Dame Cathedral (Episodes 2 and 5); 3. 43 Rue de Dragon VIIe arrondissement (Episodes 3 and 6); 4. Palais Garnier (Episode 4); 5. Eiffel Tower (Episode 8); 6. Studio d'Essai, 37 Rue de l'Université.

While the radio drama is only loosely based on the Zodiac, Schaeffer does adhere to the ways that different signs of the Zodiac interact with each other. As can be seen in Figure 2, each sign of the Zodiac represents different elemental signs: fire, earth, air, and water. According to the Greek philosopher and physician Empedocles (c. 490-c. 430 B.C.), the four elements interact in pairs. Geometer Rachel Fletcher explains these pairs are "characterized further by the qualities of expansion and contraction, or hot and cold, and solution and fixation, or moist and dry. Pairs of elements that share one quality are compatible. Fire and air share the quality of hot; air and water

share the quality of moist; water and earth share the quality of cold; and earth and fire share the quality of dry."[220] Furthermore, Fletcher demonstrates that there are "complementary oppositions" among these signs. In every case, fire and air signs were ideally paired together and earth and water signs were likewise.[221] Through the relationships of Zodiac signs, Schaeffer explores various emotions that he and other Parisian citizens felt during the Occupation. In the following sections I look at two cases in particular: Léonard's meeting with the Pisces and the Gemini.

### 3.3.1 Meeting Pisces

A significant scene in *La coquille à planètes* occurs in Episode 5, where Léonard has a dual encounter with Pisces and Aquarius at the Notre Dame Cathedral. Via the Pisces, Schaeffer addresses the feelings of guilt and frustration that Léonard feels for the loss of his significant other, which cumulates in questioning the existence of God. The Pisces is unique in the story, in that he is not a physical representation of the sign, unlike other the other signs. Instead, Pisces is represented by a character Schaeffer chose because of his association with fish—the biblical figure of Zebedee, father of James and John who become Christ's disciples. Zebedee is the only reference to the Bible that appears in the drama and is perhaps present in this episode to provide a stark contrast to the other mythical characters in the drama. Despite a Christian himself, Léonard is not enthusiastic about meeting Zebedee and is overly annoyed by his presence. Victorien Vobiscum explains why this is the case partway through the episode: "You are Leo, thus, you are fire. What

[220] Rachel Fletcher, "The Geometry of the Zodiac," *Nexus Network Journal* 11 (2009): 118.
[221] Ibid., 125-126.

do you need? Air for your combustion. Water extinguishes you. These are the beings of Aquarius, of Libra, and of Gemini that fascinate you."[222]

This answer adheres to the interaction of the elemental signs of the Zodiac as described above. Fire and air feed off of each other, so of course Léonard would not like Zebedee as Pisces, a water sign. However, this answer is oversimplified, as Léonard holds a much more interesting conversation with Zebedee than with the other Zodiac sign Aquarius, portrayed by the Greek character Ganymede. Discussions surrounding God and of faith hold a much more prominent role from this episode on as Léonard—and Schaeffer—attempt to find the answers to their existential questions. It is not Zebedee's relationship with water that makes Léonard uneasy but of his representation of a higher power that does.

At the end of Episode 5, Léonard finds Zebedee administering communion at the eastern point of the island in the courtyard of Notre Dame. Léonard attempts to interrupt the service, and his interjections questioning fundamental aspects of the Christian religion are striking against Zebedee's broken phrase, "Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custódiat ánimam tuam in vitam ætérnam. Amen" ("May the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve your soul unto life everlasting, Amen"), which he repeats to every communicant. Each time Zebedee speaks, he acknowledges groups of people that would have traditionally been ostracized in the time of Christ, including "the cripples and the sick"; "the prisoners and the desperate"; "the abandoned and the lepers"; "the prostitutes, the disgraced, and the ashamed." It is the last grouping of sinners that Léonard angrily interjects, "Why sort the good from the bad? When another permits them to be both."[223]

[222] "Vous êtes Lion, donc feu. Que vous faut-il ? De l'air pour votre combustion. L'eau vous éteint. Ce sont les êtres du Verseau, de la Balance, des Gémeaux qui vous fascinent." Libretto, 126.
[223] "Pourquoi trier les bons et les mauvais. Tandis qu'à un autre il est loisible de les engendrer tels." Libretto, 131.

This is the first real serious question Léonard has asked in the drama: what is the difference between good and evil, especially in a world where one is struggling to survive? Asking this of a biblical figure is significant in the greater context of the drama and Schaeffer's biography. As a devout Catholic, when Schaeffer's wife Elizabeth had complications with the birth of their second child she was taken to a religious hospital. Unfortunately, the only way to save her life was to abort the fetus, which the doctors refused to do on moral grounds. Both Elizabeth and her unborn child passed away, and, according to Fulcher, this was the pivotal moment that caused Schaeffer to drift away from Catholicism.[224] While we do not know how Léonard's significant other passed away in the drama, his line of questioning was undoubtedly personal to Schaeffer; for how could anyone refuse to provide a service that even if thought to be immoral would save the life of a loved one?

### 3.3.2 Meeting Gemini

Of the six Zodiac signs that Léonard meets, his interaction with Gemini is the most significant. The sign of the twins, it is appropriate that Gemini appears to him in the form of Leone, Léonard's "soul." Leone also appears the most throughout the drama, as she is present in Episode 1, 7, and 8, and her entire purpose is to help Léonard through his existential crisis. She does not have a corporeal form and she speaks to Léonard in a hushed whisper about the matters that are most intimate to him. Léonard first encounters Leone at a bar, where a song by the popular Castor Gemini, portrayed by the eminent baritone Pierre Bernac, is stuck on repeat on a record player. The song, one of the many diegetic musical moments in the drama, is sorrowful and nostalgic sounding, which is fitting considering who Gemini is supposed to represent what Léonard had lost.

[224] Fulcher, 165.

She chooses to meet Léonard in the bar because of how they can talk privately despite being among a crowd of people. In this, it is suggested that perhaps Léonard, in an attempt to dull the pain he felt after the death of his beloved, had retreated to the bar numerous times.

Gemini, despite being his twin, represents the isolation Léonard feels now in the chaotic world that he inhabits. But Leone also represents the loss of his love one. In their brief initial visit, Leone explains this to Léonard:

**Leone:** Léonard, I thought that you had already cried a lot.

**Léonard:** What are you trying to say?

**Leone:** Answer me.

**Léonard:** You know what I mean. Why always these same questions? Didn't you also die with the one who died?

**Leone:** Several objects keep me from dying: like this floral fabric, whose flowers are always fresh.

**Léonard:** The dress she wore when I saw her the first time. Yes.

**Leone:** At the bottom of the dresser, the handkerchief with the unfinished hem.

**Léonard:** There is still thread and a needle. Yes.

**Leone:** And tell me, Léonard, is there not also this ugly little lead ring?

**Léonard:** The antique dealer had given it to us in the market: it was her favorite ring. Yes, my soul.[225]

[225] Libretto, 31.

Léonard holds onto specific objects that remind him of his loved one, and by doing so does not allow for her, and by extension Leone, to move on. It makes sense that Leone comes back the most throughout the drama, as Gemini, as an air sign, is best compatible with Leo. This would be why Leone appears at the end of the drama after Léonard's night of looking for a new significant other. However, it also demonstrates that Léonard does not desire anyone except his former love who passed away. Léonard is not willing to let go of her and refuses to face his new reality, just as Leone explained to him in their first encounter.

When Léonard and Leone meet again in Episode 7 it is only hours before his twenty-fifth birthday. She arrives, as before, when Léonard is crying by himself, and he explains that he spends the majority of his time searching for his love, primarily in the churches of Saint Germain, Genevieve, Jacques, Madeleine, Victoires, and Notre Dame. In doing so Léonard acknowledges that his loved one is not of this world any longer and is looking for a sign from God on how to move on, yet it never comes. As they talk, the song by Castor Gemini from the first episode plays in the background, this time not diegetic as they are nowhere near a record player. As the conversation with Leone continues, it is clear that Léonard does not fully understand that his loved one will not come back:

> **Léonard:** If she returned. If it was her. Yes, I know: it is a foul trap and I do not fall for it. But I can handle anything that can happen. Why should it not be her, after all?
>
> **Leone:** Because she is dead, Léonard.[226]

[226] Libretto, 206.

This answer is not acceptable to Léonard, as he explains, in sections that are omitted from the shortened version of the drama, that death does not exist to him, challenging the notion of God and the afterlife.

When Leone leaves him again, Léonard climbs to the top of the Eiffel Tower where he has an introspective moment alone. Schaeffer artistically brings many moments of the drama full circle in these last few episodes, by starting and ending with a meeting with Leone and a return of the nostalgic song by Castor Gemini. In the eighth episode, Schaeffer brings back a monologue about a tree that Leonard observes in the fourth episode, at the midnight opera. Stalarow analyzes Léonard's metaphor about the tree as a man who is a complete human when he has a relationship with his mother (the roots of the tree) and his lover (the branches).[227] Léonard observes the Eiffel Tower the same way, as a tree pointing towards the heavens; however, the tree has no branches. It is without the branches that Leonard can fully see the earth below him, specifically the expanse of the city of Paris. Léonard says to himself in one of his last monologues that he was in a unity with the world, which "God weighed with his eternal scales."[228]

The mention of scales is significant, since, as is shown in Figure 2, Victorien Vobiscum explained to Leonard that Libra (in French, "Balance," the word for scales) is represented by the nation of France. More intriguingly, Libra is also the final air sign that Leo is compatible with. At the top of the Tower, Leonard can clearly observe all of the places that he had seen in the past twenty-four hours: the Opéra Garnier, Notre Dame, the bar near the Sèvres-Babylone Métro station, and all of the other places that hold significance for him. It is here that Leonard has a moment of clarity—even though his loved one is no longer here, he is not alone. Just as the church

[227] Stalarow, 68.
[228] Libretto, 222.

bells ring four o'clock in the afternoon, the time of his birth, Leonard says, "Let's reconcile with one another. Accept one another. Continue on. We will see. Let's go into this garden and into these crowds, into these deserts and this turmoil."[229] Leonard learns that to move on from the pain he endured after such tragedy, he must forgive himself. In writing this, Schaeffer may have similarly found peace in himself for the untimely death of his wife and his complicit role in the Occupation.

### 3.4 Schaeffer's Resistance Work

Although the composition was not a capitulation into resistance, Shaeffer had become more and more involved in the Résistance during the production of *La Coquille à planètes*. Having officially joined a resistance organization by the late summer of 1943, Schaeffer secretly offered the Studio d'Essai to record resistance works of poets, such as Louis Aragon, Paul Éluard, and Jean Tardieu, of composers affiliated with the Front national des musiciens, and of Jewish composers like Arnold Schoenberg, Darius Milhaud, and Paul Dukas.[230] Following the underground publisher Éditions de minuit, this activity culminated into Émissions de minuit at the beginning of 1944, in which works by resistant poets and musicians, including works that were banned by the Nazis, would be recorded with the intention of broadcast at the Libération. Several resistance compositions were recorded during this period, including Milhaud's *Catalogue de fleurs* on May 1, 1944. This was performed by Front national vocalist Irène Joaquim and conducted by Roger Désormière, a founder of the Front national des musiciens. Émissions de minuit also

[229] "Réconcilions-nous. Acceptons-nous. Continuons. On verra bien. Allons dans ce jardin et dans ces foules, dans ces déserts et ces tumultes." Libretto, 222.
[230] Le Bail 199, Fulcher 174.

recorded more of Arrieu's work, specifically *Sept Poèmes d'amour en guerre*, which set the poetry of Paul Éluard.[231]

Unfortunately, following the arrests of several members of the Comité de la libération de la radio, surveillance of radio stations increased and Pierre Schaeffer was fired on May 20, 1944. According to author Pierre-Arnaud de Chassy-Poulay, Schaeffer was replaced by François Agostini, who remained willfully naïve of the resistance activities that persisted at the Studio d'Essai. This is rather fortuitous because of the sheer amount of physical labor that was carried out in the name of the Résistance, such as copying recordings of contraband music (like songs of the Red Army Chorus) and transporting large pieces of radio equipment without being noticed by the Germans.[232] Schaeffer oversaw the implementation of a network of secret transmitters around Paris in preparation for the Libération so that the region of Paris was covered and so that America could also be reached by shortwave radio signals.[233]

One such transmitter was installed in a seventh-floor apartment next to the Studio d'Essai that was rented by Chassy-Poulay. The 100-watt transmitter was powered by an unregulated power line that was not connected to any meter and could therefore go undetected by the Occupiers. The carrying of the heavy transmitter and its amps up the seven flights of stairs was quite "epic" according to Chassy-Poulay.[234] However, it was a necessary labor to fulfill the secret mission of the Studio d'Essai. This final mission devised by Schaeffer was called the "Plan des 100 heures." Once the Allied forces gave the cue, Schaeffer and his team would broadcast a series of resistance-

[231] Le Bail, 200.
[232] Pierre Arnaud de Chassy-Poulay, "Les Émissions de radio en region Île-de-France: Le Studio d'Essai," in *Cahiers d'Histoire de la Radiodiffusio*n, IMEC, Pierre Schaeffer archives, Dossier 737-Z, accessed 14 June 2017.
[233] "Pierre Schaeffer," Biographies of Resistance Members, IMEC, Pierre Schaeffer Archives, 129.1278, accessed 15 June 2017.
[234] "Les Émissions de radio en region Île-de-France: Le Studio d'Essai."

related radio content to take over the airwaves.[235] Schaeffer explained in a letter addressed to "Marc" on June 1, 1944, five days before the invasion of Normandy, that the plan daily consisted of eight fifty-minute radio programs that would broadcast works recorded from Émissions de minuit, banned works, popular songs of the 1930s, jazz, French marching band music, and canonical classical music including Bach, Mozart, Brahms, and more.[236] Each day would be separated into the following segments:[237]

Morning
- "The French Speak," following the hour of National Education
- An hour of symphonic music
- An hour of art songs

Afternoon
- A series called "X… speaks to you"
- A concert of soloists (including forbidden music)
- An hour of rhythmic music

Evening
- A Spoken radio show
- Émissions de minuit

A detailed schedule of a daily broadcast can be found in Appendix B of this project. While every hour began with ten minutes of informative material, the majority of the broadcast time was dedicated to various genres of music. The prepared programs for the symphonic period, for instance, includes works by beloved composers ranging from across music history. In general,

235 Stalarow, 74.
236 Ibid.
237 "Note pour M. Marc," 1 June 1944, IMEC, Pierre Schaeffer Archives, 129.1281, accessed 15 June 2017.

composers were not sorted by nationality or period but by aesthetic quality, just as one would do when formulating a concert program. Ten different fifty-minute programs were prepared for the Plan des 100 heures. Similarly, an assortment of dramatic readings by authors like Edgar Allen Poe, Marcel Proust, and Ernest Hemingway were also prepared for broadcast. The overwhelming presence of artistic material broadcast in the Plan des 100 heures highlights art's—and more importantly music's—potential for resistant and subversive activity. For Studio d'Essai did not broadcast for the passive enjoyment of its listeners, but to specifically block out any counter broadcast that could be emitted from the state through Radio Paris and Radiodiffusion nationale. Its use is more than raising a "resistant spirit" among audiences but is a concrete tactic of resistance itself.

### 3.5 Conclusion: Is *La Coquille à planètes* a Resistance Work?

Near the end of the preface to the libretto to *La Coquille à planètes*, Schaeffer muses that the timing of creating and recording the radio drama was not ideal since the middle of the Occupation was a "funny time for a funny test."[238] Schaeffer has a moment of self-awareness in 1990 in this statement, that to record such a work as *La Coquille à planètes* during such a dire time may not have been the most productive endeavor he could have taken, especially in comparison to the resistant activity he participated in following the drama's production. Perhaps this is why in the months following the Libération Schaeffer attempted to validate his experiments by actually qualifying the work as a resistance composition. In an interview in 1946, Schaeffer says the work

[238] Libretto, 4.

was “more or less clandestinely recorded in 1943/1944 that was, of course, never broadcast during that time.”[239] By using the word “clandestine” Schaeffer himself had placed the work in the same category as other resistance literature and compositions such as the underground newspapers by the Front national des musiciens that I analyze in the next chapter. In saying this Schaeffer was purposefully attempting to ignore the fact that the Studio d’Essai was originally a state-sponsored project by Radiodiffusion nationale and that *La Coquille à planètes* was recorded with the intent of state-sponsored broadcast; the fact that it was not broadcast during the Occupation is beside the point, as it was not purposefully censored or rejected by the authorities Schaeffer reported to.

The re-categorizing of the drama, however, occurred much sooner than 1946. Following the Libération, plans were made to send a dossier of recorded documentation pertaining to resistance activity to the United States government in November 1944. Among recorded testimony of soldiers and prisoners of war, active resistance members, and a recording of the famous call to arms broadcast by General Charles de Gaulle, testimony and recordings from the Studio d’Essai team were also to be included. Among such recordings were readings from Albert Ollivier’s “Proust” and “Saint-Exupery,” readings from Maurice Cazeneuve’s “La Chambre” and “L’Impossible aventure,” and Schaeffer’s drama *La Coquille à planetes*.[240] With the inclusion of works by various members of Studio d’Essai, these plans insinuate that the Studio was a resistant project in and of itself, although this was not intended at the conception of the Studio. Furthermore, this was one of the first instances where *La Coquille à planètes* is labeled specifically as a resistant work.[241]

239 Stalarow, 77.
240 “Préparation d’une documentation sonore pour l’Amerique,” 13 November 1944, IMEC, Pierre Schaeffer Archives, 129.1280, accessed 16 June, 2017.
241 It does not appear as though these plans were ever fully realized as I could not find any documentation that resembled the intended dossier.

I. Libération
  a. Return of the Marseillaise
  b. Interview with Colonel Kléber
  c. English-German Program
  d. Midnight… in Paris
  e. General de Gaulle at the Hôtel de ville
  f. General de Gaulle at the Notre Dame

II. Résistance
  a. Introduction by Paul Eluard
  b. Poem… Paul Eluard
  c. Cantata… Claude Arrieu
  d. Complaint
  e. The Parisians
  f. My Cousin
  g. Courage
  h. On the Routes of Provence… Anne Marley
  i. The Heart of Midinettes… Anne Marley
  j. François Mauriac
  k. Poems… Louis Aragon
  l. La Coquille a planetes… Pierre Schaeffer
  m. The Presentation of the Beauce at Notre Dame in Chartres… Péguy

**Figure 10. Program April 27, 1945, Institut memoires de l'édition contemporaine, 193.878**

A few months later on April 27, 1945, a commemorative broadcast of the war was aired.[242] The broadcast program was separated into two parts, Libération and Résistance respectively (Figure 10). The musical selections accompanying the first section are by well-known and loved French composers, including *Nuages* by Debussy and *Gymnopedie* by Erik Satie. In the second part, works that were "resistant" took precedence, including some folk music by Anna Marley (such as *La Chant des partisans*), music by Claude Arrieu, and near the end, *La Coquille à planètes* by Pierre Schaeffer. The drama was not broadcast in its entirety, instead airing selections from

[242] I could not take pictures at IMEC, but this document is a published booklet that describes in detail the program and contains scripts that the announcer would follow. The title of the actual document is "Audition Privée radio-diffusion Française-Résistance-Libération," but I have no reason to doubt it was broadcast considering the amount of work was put into the booklet. "Broadcast 27 April 1945," IMEC, Pierre Schaeffer Archives, 193.878, accessed 13 June 2017.

various episodes including Leonard and Blandine's exchange from Episode 3 and scenes at Notre Dame from Episode 5.

As can be seen from these documents and from Schaeffer's own words, there was an immediate attempt to label *La Coquille à planètes* as a resistance composition following the Libération. However, as can be seen from my synopsis of the drama, there is little to no thematic material directly pertaining to the resistance present within it, and as such the work today is not recognized as a resistance composition. So then, why would Schaeffer make such a concerted effort to present it as such? As Fulcher demonstrates in her scholarship on the radio technician, Schaeffer believed (perhaps naïvely) that as long as he did not actively support the Nazi and Vichy agenda and did not spread their cultural propaganda he was espousing a "resistant" persona.[243] Furthermore, Fulcher explains, "Schaeffer still maintained… that art—especially now—was an essential aid to one's subjective survival; hence art and life must articulate with each other, awakening a new awareness of one's subject position… [He believed] that given the current political situation it was by continuing his cultural activity that he could personally best serve and further the cause of freedom."[244] In other words, the creation of art was the action that defined one's position during the Occupation, and Schaeffer had decided that his art placed him well within the efforts of the Résistance.

The only problem with this perception, however, is that many artists believed the same thing but actively worked within resistance channels during the Occupation with considerable risk, as demonstrated in the upcoming chapters. Comparably, Schaeffer was relatively safe in his position working for the state and did not take an active position in a resistance organization until

[243] Fulcher, 138.
[244] Ibid., 166.

1943. In 1944, Schaeffer realized that his support and work for the Vichy government was problematic for him despite his late resistance efforts, and while he was never prosecuted Schaeffer did lose considerable authority after he was called before the Comité d'épuration (the purge committee) near the end of 1944.[245] The attempt to shift the perception of *La Coquille à planètes*, then, may have been an effort at saving Schaeffer's legacy and to demonstrate that he was always resistant despite the conditions under which the drama was created. Moreover, the fact that the drama was presented under the category of resistance after Schaeffer's appearance before the Commission may indicate that other people *also* identified it as a resistance work. As such, is it possible that audiences could still have connected the dramatic work with resistance themes despite no clear acknowledgment to the efforts present within the broadcast?

While this may be difficult to answer, it is possible that listeners could identify with the feelings Léonard experiences in his existential journey with their anxieties developed in the Occupation. Just as Léonard's night was turned upside down by the sudden appearance of "monsters" with the utterance of a magic word ("abracadabra"), citizens of Paris also had to reconcile the sudden challenge to their worldview with the advent of the Occupation. The monsters that Léonard faces all vie for his attention in one way or another: Taurus attempts to seduce him by her milky singing voice; Cancer and Scorpio try to amaze him with their midnight opera; and Aquarius attempts to intimidate him into submission. Each of these actions correlate with how the Germans attempted to do the same with French citizens, by trying to make life as normal as possible, wooing citizens with artistic demonstrations of their culture, and, finally, by prosecution should citizens defy them. But as was discussed in the previous chapter, the Germans were largely

[245] Ibid., 175.

unsuccessful in their attempts to subsume French citizens, just as these Zodiac signs were unsuccessful at wooing Léonard.

Furthermore, Léonard's confrontation with Zebedee does not just act as a way for Schaeffer to understand the passing of his wife but also asks questions and emotions that many listeners could identify with. For although the majority of French citizens did not join the Résistance, as discussed in the previous chapter, many undoubtedly felt the shame associated with the German invasion. How could God allow such a tragedy to happen to France? Were the French themselves to blame? Should they have done more to fight back? These questions stuck with the French for years following the Occupation, greatly affecting the self-designed narrative of the country. The most evident symbol audiences of *La Coquille à planètes* could attach to, though, was the role that Paris and France held in the drama. As explained above, both of these places are representative of two Zodiac signs in the drama. The city of Paris is Virgo, the virgin, defiled in the context of the Occupation. This symbolism surely would have been striking to the ears of Parisian audiences. Near the end of Episode 7, before Victorien Vobiscum explains how these places correlate with signs, he mistakenly identifies Léonard's distress over Paris:

> **Victorien:** Dear child, how moved you are. It is Paris, is it not? It is Paris. Paris would draw tears from the damned.
>
> **Léonard:** (to himself) Why deceive him? When one has tears in his eyes for a reason known only to us, it is not forbidden to dedicate them as such, in addition to any other object of tenderness.
>
> With his hand, through the decoupage of nearby roofs, he showed me fragments of horizon as through cardboard stage scenery: chimneys, ridges, gutters in the

> foreground. We could distinguish the towers of the Notre Dame, the domes of the Sacré Cœur, the grayish green roofs of the Opera, a ribbon of the Seine, leading imprecisely towards Passy. Passy, what a heartache.[246]

Before the drama begins, Léonard lost the love of his life. Because of the war and Occupation, citizens similarly lost Paris, the city that Victorien Vobiscum calls the "capital that connects the earth to the sky." Victorien Vobiscum describes France in familiar patriotic terms, and as Libra, France balances "grace with rigor, order with imagination, charity with justice." It is by qualifying these two places that Leonard realizes that "My first is Paris the Virgo, and my second is France the Libra, All together is my love."[247] Listeners may have found comfort in the realization that his love is for his country and its capital, which he later forgives himself over the loss of.

Admittedly, this may be an optimistic interpretation of Schaeffer's radio drama. When compared to any of his actual efforts with the resistance as demonstrated through activities like Émissions de minuit and Plan des 100 heures, *La Coquille à planètes* is not a resistance work of the same magnitude. That being said, I believe that the timing of the drama's production with Schaeffer's movement from passive collaboration to active resistance is evident in the themes and the morals contained within it. Despite his desire to remain apolitical in his artistic life, *La Coquille à planètes* demonstrates that keeping one's politics separate from one's art is certainly a difficult thing, if not impossible, feat to achieve, as one is bound to influence the other. It may have been a

[246] Libretto, 193.
[247] Libretto, 194.

“funny time for a funny test,” but nevertheless it was a necessary step to help Schaeffer navigate his life into the Résistance and prepare for the heavy burden he had to bear.

## 4.0 Resistance Tactics of the Front national des musiciens

Chapters 1 and 2 focused on how resistance organizations employed the radio as a tactic to disseminate resistance messages to its listeners. As a result, the target audience of these radio programs were far-reaching, as anyone with a radio could theoretically tune in and listen. While I maintain that the limits of my study are within Paris, the obvious result of such a wide-reaching forms of communication is that many more people outside of the city could participate in civil forms of resistance. This chapter will narrow the scope and reach of a resistance organization's tactics to that of print media and public performances within Paris. The musical organization Front national des musiciens (henceforth the FNM) reached out to potential audiences specifically through these two means. The FNM believed that composing and performing music could tactically be used to aid the French Résistance.

According to a September 1944 post-Liberation interview with Alexis Roland-Manuel in *Les Lettres Françaises*, the idea of a musical resistance organization was conceived in a post-rehearsal conversation by himself, composer Elsa Barraine, and conductor Roger Désormière.[248] Most accounts, however, determine that the organization the concept of the FNM was originally conceived in September of 1940 by Barraine, Désormière, and composer Louis Durey. These three composers belonged to the organization Parti communiste français (The French Communist Party), which had dissolved earlier in 1939. Following the invasion of Soviet Russia, remnants of the communist party had joined several other organizations to form the Front national de lute pour

[248] Sprout, 31.

l'indépendence de la France in May 1941.[249] Barraine, Désormière, and Durey were similarly galvanized by the invasion of Russia to form the underground resistance organization under the Front national umbrella.[250]

As could be determined through its name, the FNM believed that if musicians united together against the occupiers it could protect vulnerable citizens. In addition, the FNM maintained that music was an effective tactic of resistance. Its use of music for resistance is prevalent in the eight issues of the FNM's underground newspaper, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, in which the organization armed readers with a variety of resistance tactics (Figure 11).[251] Barraine, Durey, Georges Auric, Francis Poulenc, Alexis Roland-Manuel, and Manuel Rosenthal were contributors to the underground newspaper; Auric and Roland-Manuel were editors of the newspaper.[252] Although the FNM encouraged readers to follow their patriotic duty through its suggested resistance tactics, the newspaper overwhelmingly urged readers against cooperation with the Germans or association with collaborators and state organizations.

However, as previously exposed by other musicologists such as Leslie Sprout and Karine le Bail, prominent members of the FNM frequently *did* associate with occupying forces and collaborators, either by performing for German audiences, accepting state-sponsored commissions, or traveling for German musical events. While Sprout says this brings into question whether these activities were considered "shameful" at the time of the Occupation, the presence of such a contradiction between method and practice begs for critical inquiry.[253] Why does the

[249] Colin Thomas Roust, "Sounding French: The Film Music and Criticism of Georges Auric, 1919-1945," Ph.D. diss, University of Michigan, 2007, 184.
[250] Sprout, 22.
[251] The reader will notice from the table that the first two issues of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* are actually under a different title, *L'Université libre*. To alleviate confusion, I will not refer to the separate issue numbers of the newspaper but instead to the date they were printed.
[252] Sprout, 22; Le Bail, 180.
[253] Sprout, 149.

FNM insistently warn against collaboration with the occupiers if its own members would not follow such direction? How does this contradiction impact the effectiveness of *Musiciens d'Aujourd'hui* as a resistant tactic?

| *L'Université libre* | No. special | September-October 1941 | Gallica Archives, Bibliothéque nationale de France |
|---|---|---|---|
| *L'Université libre* | No. 2 | February 1942 | Gallica Archives, Bibliothéque nationale de France |
| *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* | No. 3 | April 1942 | Musée de la Résistance nationale |
| *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* | No. 4 | October 1942 | Musée de la Résistance nationale |
| *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* | No. 5 | November 1942 | Musée de la Résistance nationale |
| *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* | No. 6 | June 1943 | Musée de la Résistance nationale |
| *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* | No. 7 | July 1943 | Musée de la Résistance nationale |
| *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* | No. 8 | February 1944 | Musée de la Résistance nationale |

**Figure 11. Underground Newspapers of the FNM**

Using archival material from the Musée de la Résistance nationale and the Bibliothèque nationale de France, I will explore these questions through a close reading of the issues of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*. Following Scott's theory of public and private transcripts, I argue that the contradiction should be understood not as a result of the activities by FNM members but as a shift between resistant practices, similar to the actions of listeners to the BBC or of Pierre Schaeffer's work in the Studio d'Essai. I first analyze what tactics the FNM employed through the underground newspaper, which fall into two main categories: instructing readers what were useful methods to aiding the resistance and forbidding specific activities. I then demonstrate how these

instructions culminate in another tactic of collective identity, as displayed in the newspapers of editorials on Claude Debussy following Camille Saint-Saëns's model from *Germanophilie*. Finally, I explore how the activities of the FNM inform and are influenced by the lived experiences of its members as both members of the resistance and as people trying to survive occupation.

## 4.1 Music as Propaganda

The FNM aimed to achieve several things through the newspaper *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*; the newspaper itself was a tactic meant to disseminate Allied propaganda to its readers and was at the same time something of an instruction booklet of how to perform tactics that would be helpful to the resistance. Considering its multi-tactical usefulness and that this chapter directly addresses how an organization develops and employs its tactics, then, it may be useful to review the term. By "tactic" I mean the specific actions by members of a social movement employed to advance its cause and obtain its understood goal. Because this is a very broad definition, many activities may be considered as tactics, including recruitment and education, collective identity formation, or the sustainment of a movement during the time of conflict or through periods of abeyance. Sociologist Jeff A. Larson explains that tactics are "…interactive performances that communicate messages to audiences."[254] Larson, though, argues that the tactics are not always conceived in a methodical, rational way, but sometimes are irrational and sporadically enacted. He claims, "The tenants of rationalism predict that in the face of failure, tacticians will adapt. However, many do not… More than likely, activists believe they will be effective, but these beliefs are often based on incomplete

[254] Larson, 870.

and potentially misleading information."[255] This information is then interpreted by the activist's own subjective experience and the situation they are in.

To be clear, I do not think that classifying tactics as "rational" or "irrational" is a fair interpretation of the various acts of resistance people enact in their everyday lives. Instead, it may be more valuable to think of resistance as modes of activity—resistant acts as specific tactics used against an opponent, and resistant acts as ways of negotiating life under oppression, or, for the subject of this study, of totalitarianism. Scott's theory of public and hidden transcripts proves useful in understanding how these two modes interact with each other, as *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* occupies a loose position within Scott's model; while the newspaper was a public tactic of the FNM, it may also be considered somewhat private due to the anonymity of the newspaper and the actual public personas that FNM members lived every day. Scott's model then, demonstrates how FNM members can participate in resistance efforts but still maintain a ubiquitous day job that sometimes goes against the values of the organization, as will be explored later. As for the effectiveness of the tactic, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* may be categorized as what political scientist Joseph Nye posits "soft power" propaganda. Organizations that have political influence, for example, social movements and governing entities, employ tactics that fall into the categories of "hard" and "soft" power. According to Nye, "hard" power can be defined as the military and financial strengths of an entity, which can be employed to obtain a desired outcome by force. "Soft" power, on the other hand, is the cultural propaganda that organizations send out to influence public opinion, using tactics like performances, literature, demonstrations, and so on.[256] The goal

[255] Ibid., 871.
[256] Rachel Moore, *Performing Propaganda: Musical Life and Culture in Paris During the First World War* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2018), 47.

of “soft” power is to bolster public opinion of the “hard” power and maybe even encourage the public to join the ranks.

By World War II, cultural propaganda—especially musical propaganda—was a generally novel concept. According to musicologist Rachel Moore, the earliest form of literary musical propaganda can be found in Camille Saint-Saëns’s collection of essays *Germanophilie* from 1914-1917. The FNM, under the direction of Elsa Barraine, was particularly influenced by these essays in its newspaper *Musiciens d’aujourd’hui*, as is evident through the slogan that appeared at the bottom corner of each paper, “L’art n’a pas de patrie?” (“Does art have no homeland?”). This echoed Saint-Saëns’s famous quote from his essays: “If art has no country, the artists have one.”[257] As Moore explains, *Germanophilie* was unique in its language, as it was the first time that music was used so directly as propaganda. Saint-Saëns above all warned against the “infiltration” of German music, specifically Wagner’s music, in the musical milieu of France.[258]

However, more than just bemoan the artistic style of Wagner that was at odds with France’s national music of opéra-comique, Saint-Saëns took his criticism even further. He accused Germany of inserting its political ideology into French culture through the vehicle of Wagner. What is this ideology exactly? Saint-Saëns was not particularly fair in his categorization, perhaps due to the context of war in which he wrote these essays. He claimed that Germany in its current iteration (as to not problematize his love for Mozart and Bach) demonstrated a regression of civilization and a retreat into “ancestral barbarism.”[259] In effect, he created a direct binary of France versus Germany, in which France represented progressive civilization and Germany was

[257] “[Si] l’art n’a pas de patrie, les artistes en ont une.”
[258] Ibid., 72.
[259] Ibid., 78.

the anti-thesis of all French republican ideals. To embrace the music of this barbaric country, according to Saint-Saëns, was akin to treachery.[260]

According to Moore, Saint-Saëns's diatribe was already seen as "outdated" when it was published, as younger composers did not take issue with the music of Wagner as much as they did with the music of Richard Strauss. Furthermore, Saint-Saëns was effectively preaching to the choir, since those who read *Germanophilie* already held the same beliefs as the older composer.[261] And yet, barely twenty years after the publication of *Germanophilie* the young composers and musicians who comprised the FNM would heavily draw on the nationalist rhetoric of Saint-Saëns, particularly his use of anti-Wagnerian language and his depiction of Germany as a barbaric and regressive civilization. In the following sections, I will demonstrate how the FNM used the techniques as laid out by *Germanophilie* to persuade readers in joining the resistance efforts through its newspaper *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*.

## 4.2 The "Patriots"

The FNM initially announced its opposition in the debut issue of *L'Université libre*, an underground newspaper published in September 1941 in which various groups of French intellectuals, including doctors, authors, and artists, voiced their dissent against the German occupiers. This declaration is written under the title of the newspaper: "Never will the French bow their heads before the barbarians. Against the bloody terror instituted by the enemy and his lackeys:

[260] Ibid., 83.
[261] Ibid., 95-96.

For the liberation of France: ALL PATRIOTS UNITE!"[262] Under the heading "We refuse to betray… Declare the musicians" in this issue of *L'Universite libre* the FNM asserted, "Despite differences of opinion on political, philosophical and religious matters, most of our musicians, as musicians and as French [citizens], are at least in agreement on one point: the formal refusal to subscribe to the principle of collaboration that would like to impose on us a government would like to impose on us who borrows from the enemy its authority just as it draws its weakness from the capitulation that it is derived from."[263] In April of 1942, the FNM outlined specific goals in the first issue of its underground journal, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*:

> "[To] make possible a collective refusal to prostitute ourselves to the invader and his lackeys, we must be united and organized into groups. That is why it is urgent to form a committee of the NATIONAL FRONT of Musicians in every orchestra. If these committees know how to be vigilant and active, and know how and when to call for action, they will not only be able to organize passive acts of resistance, but will also go on active demonstrations of patriotism and love of liberty, all in hatred of barbaric racism. As an addition to a program, playing a piece whose content glorifies France, freedom, the brotherhood of peoples or the work of a non-

[262] "Jamais les Français ne courberont la tête devant les barbares. Contre la terreur sanglante instaurée par l'ennemi et ses laquais ; Pour la libération de la France : UNION DE TOUS LES PATRIOTES !" *L'Université libre*, no. special, September-October 1940, Gallica Digital Archives, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), accessed 30 May 2016, May 2016. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k8789925/.

[263] "Malgré les divergences de leurs opinions particulières en matière politique, philosophique et religieuse, la plupart de nos musiciens en tant que Français sont au moins d'accord sur un point: le refus formel de souscrire au principe d'une collaboration que voudrait nous imposer un gouvernement qui emprunte à l'ennemi son autorité comme il tire sa faiblesse de la capitulation dont il est issu." This comment is interesting because it is not only a rejection of the German invaders, but also a damning critique of the Vichy government as having "borrowed" authority.

Aryan composer can galvanize not only the audience but also cause ripple effects in a much wider circle."[264]

This statement indicated to its readers that there are specific actions that aid the resistance efforts, both "passive" (which I take to understand as "in one's personal life") and "active" demonstrations. This newspaper played a significant role in appealing to the readers' sense of French patriotic duty, seen in the mission statement by referencing the French ideals of equality (i.e. not racist), fraternity, and liberty. Contained in these articles were instructions on how to help the liberating struggle, an explication on its mission to perform both passive and active demonstrations of resistance. Examples of small actions of resistance could be found tucked away in the bottom corners of each issue. For instance, in the April 1942 issue, it asked its readers to "Read and circulate *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui.*"[265] This in itself seems like a simple task, and often one strategy of social movement organizations is to ask new members to perform small and achievable tasks before taking on more difficult ones. However, even small tasks had large consequences, as it was a punishable offense to merely possess underground newspapers. A copy of the April 1942 issue was seized as evidence in an arrest along with numerous other underground newspapers by the police in the Parisian neighborhood of Puteaux in 1942 according to a police

[264] "[Pour] rendre possible des refus collectifs de se prostituer à l'envahisseur et à ses valets, il faut être unis et groupés. C'est pourquoi il est urgent de constituer dans chaque orchestre un comité de FRONT NATIONAL des Musiciens. Si ces comités savent être vigilants et actifs, savent lancer le mot d'ordre juste à chaque occasion, ils pourront non seulement organiser la résistance passive, mais encore passer à des manifestations actives de patriotisme et d'amour de la liberté, de haine du racisme barbare. Le fait de jouer comme supplément à un programme un morceau dont le contenu glorifie la France, la liberté, la fraternité des peuples ou encore l'ouvre d'un compositeur non aryen, peut galvaniser non seulement les assistants mais soulever un écho enthousiaste dans un cercle beaucoup large." *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, no. 3, April 1942, MRN. Underlining in original.
[265] Ibid.

dossier held at the Archives nationales, although it is unclear what happened to this defendant as a result.[266]

The FNM more often made calls for readers to form National Front chapters in their own orchestras: "Adhere to the National Front of French musicians, alongside academics, painters, doctors. Form National Front committees in each orchestra."[267] The FNM needed to encourage readers to join its cause and grow the number of members, as almost every issue of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* pushed the idea that all musicians around France were unified in their fight for liberation. In the April 1942 issue the FNM asserted, "In such a moment, French musicians feel all the responsibility they have in front of their country. The time of small compromises with the occupant, under the assumption that art has no homeland, has passed. To take part in acts of "Collaboration" is not to save the humanity of art, but to contribute to the subjugation of French art!"[268] In claiming all French musicians were united and also acknowledging there are collaborators within the same breath, the FNM argued that collaborators are not *really* "French" and should not be considered as such.

More examples of "active" resistance could generally be found in the journal's "Echos" ("News in Brief") section. While the "Echos" section would describe the activities of the Germans and the collaborators, it would also provide short summaries of patriotic activities, many of which the readers could replicate. Resistant activities could be simply a refusal to associate with Germans

[266] "Scellé constitué par le commissariat de police de Puteaux: documents saisis au domicile de l'inculpé," Section spéciale de la cour d'appel de Paris (1941-1944), Salle des inventaires virtuelle, Archives nationales, Z/4/144, dossier 526, scellé 18, accessed 22 September 2018.
[267] "Adherez au Front national des musiciens français, au cote des universitaires, des peintres, des medicins. Formez des comites du Front national dans chaque orchestra." *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, no. 3, April 1942, MRN.
[268] "Dans un tel moment, les musiciens français sentient toute la responsabilité qu'ils ont devant la patrie. Le temps des petites compromissions avec l'occupant, sous prétexte que l'art n'a pas de patrie, est passé. Participer à ces manifestations de "Kollaobration" ce n'est pas sauver le caractère humain de l'art, mais aider à la domestication de l'art français!" *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, no. 3, April 1942, MRN.

or the collaborators. Such an act was described in a summary of "Mozart Week" that was held in Vienna, in which forty-five French musicians were invited but only five attended. The November 1942 issue of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* was ripe with reports of resistant demonstrations by civilians, such as a protest march at the Arc de Triomphe on the 11th of that same month,[269] a moment of silence held by professors and students of the Sorbonne in honor of fallen French soldiers, and a wreath laid at the Palais in honor of the magistrates and lawyers who were executed during the Occupation.

There are numerous anecdotes from the Occupation of people using music as active forms of protest, such as singing banned nationalistic songs. One often-cited example by scholars is a group of 150 young French citizens who loudly sung the *Marseillaise* at the Place du Chateau Rouge.[270] Even though it was against the law to sing these works, the German soldiers found it incredibly difficult to curb such behavior; sometimes teenage boys would whistle the anthem while flying by German soldiers their bikes, other times, especially on Bastille Day, seemingly everyone would sing the national anthem all day long.[271] As cited in the October 1942 issue of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, nightclub musicians would also take great pleasure in inserting excerpts of the *Marseillaise* and the *Marche Lorraine* into their performances in front of their German patrons.

*Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* was not the only newspaper that noted the use of the national anthem as a resistance tactic. In a March 1944 report on French resistance to the Boston Chapter of the organization France Forever, André Morize cited numerous instances where the *Marseillaise* was sung in defiance of the occupiers. Often Morize would take note in his report of resistant

[269] To commemorate the assassination of students in November of 1940, and to protest the extension of the Occupied Zone to the majority of France.
[270] Jakes, 324.
[271] Rosbottom, 315-316.

singing, for instance of crowds that would gather on specific anniversaries, such as the day of the Armistice, the Battle of the Marne, and on Bastille Day, to sing the *Marseillaise* and place memorial flowers at the foot of monuments despite the best efforts of the police in a persistent demonstration of resistance.[272] Morize describes one particularly spectacular example of a group of demonstrators attempting to prevent French men from deportation:

> "An incident which occurred in Montluçon on January 6, 1943, shows how far the French will go to prevent the sending to Germany of what is left of the country's manhood. As a train of 600 drafted men was scheduled to leave the Montluçon railroad station, several thousand people, answering an order from the organizations of resistance, filled the station, swarmed over the platforms and the tracks. The bulk of the demonstrators crowded in front of the locomotive singing the 'Marseillaise' and shouting 'Death to Laval,' 'Long live de Gaulle.' The hated 'gardes mobiles' tried to intervene, using their rifle butts. In the confusion which followed, all the workers in the first car made their escape. At last the train started slowly. It had not run 200 yards when it was stopped by trainmen massed on the tracks. The engineer left his cab and finally all but eight of the drafted laborers escaped."[273]

Combined with other tactics, the singing of the *Marseillaise* proved to be a very effective means of resistance, which both bolstered a sense of collective identity and moral, and also acted as a direct defiance of the occupiers. Undoubtedly the insistence of some citizens to sing the

[272] André Morize, *Resistance France 1940-1943*, translated by Helen J. Heubener (France Forever Boston Chapter, 1944), 63.
[273] Ibid., 83-84.

*Marseillaise* and other nationalist songs like the *Marche Lorraine* certainly worked against the Germans' efforts to subsume French identity. Furthermore, as can be seen from these examples, it was almost impossible to prevent them from doing it, much like preventing citizens from listening to illegal radio as described in Chapter 1.

While Morize certainly exaggerated his account of French resistance in his report, many of his accounts and guidelines for resistance methods mirrored that found in *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*. In the July 1943 issue of the journal the FNM outlined specific actions that readers could take against the occupiers. Along with forming National Front committees in the readers' musical organizations, acts supporting liberation included donating money to the families of Résistance soldiers or of deported citizens, protecting young French musicians from deportation to Germany, and performing banned music, whether it is the national anthem or music by contraband composers (such as by Messiaen, Milhuad, and Stravinsky).[274] Above all of these actions, though, the FNM insists that the refusal to work with German entities in any manner is the most important means of resistance. The fact that some French citizens would cooperate with the Germans, whether by fully embracing their regime or just by deeming it necessary to work for state organizations, severely countered the narrative of national solidarity as espoused in *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*. In such cases, it was important to not only insist that such people were in the minority, but also that it was a grave mistake to perform any act of collaboration. In the November 1942 issue, the FNM warned against participating in acts of collaboration, large or small: "[The] penitent collaborators know that it is not enough to make verbal declarations in the twelfth hour: if they want to make amends

[274] *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, no. 7, July 1943, MRN.

for the harm they did to France, may they do it by acts and by unquestionable attitude! But may they not wait too long, because tomorrow, it will be too late."[275]

### 4.3 The "Collaborators"—The Case of Émile Vuillermoz

On a scrap of paper found in the Musée de la résistance national's archives, Elsa Barraine worked out the FNM's slogan, "L'art n'a pas de patrie?" ("Does art have no homeland?") which was directly inspired by Camille Saint-Saën's rhetorical question from his essay *Germanophilie*[276] (Figure 12). Following this statement, Barraine condemned "barbaric" Nazis and declared anyone who collaborates with them as traitors (traîtres). The FNM reiterated this position again and again in the pages of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, especially within the first issue where it accused critic and conductor Marcel Delannoy of being a collaborator alongside Maurice Yvain and Marcel Rousseau. In this exposé, it rebuked Delannoy for claiming that Debussy's *La Mer* was inspired by Richard Strauss's *Poemes Symphoniques* in his article for *Les Noveau Temps*. Even worse, Delannoy embraced the German presence in Paris by saying it was a "marriage of love" between German and French art. By identifying Delannoy in such a negative way, the FNM communicated that Delannoy was a person to be met with suspicion.

The criticism of Delannoy was just one instance in *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* in which the FNM identified and shamed perceived traitors by negatively calling them "collaborators." Known

275 "[Les] collaborateurs pénitents sachent qu'il ne suffit pas de faire des déclarations verbales de 12ème heure : S'ils veulent racheter le mal qu'ils ont fait à la France, qu'ils le fassent par des actes, par une attitude non équivoque! Mais qu'ils ne tardent pas trop, car demain il sera trop tard." *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, no. 5, November 1942, MRN.
276 "L'art n'a pas de patrie?" handwritten article, author and date unknown (most likely Elsa Barraine), Musée de la Résistance nationale (MRN), Champigny-sur-Marne, Fonds René Roussel, accessed 1 June 2016.

collaborators were exposed in the "Echos" section of the sixth issue: "The musical section of the group 'Collaboration,' under the chairmanship of M. Max d'Ollone, along with MM. Piersig, Sonnen, Florent Schmitt, Francis Casadesus, Gustave Samazeuilh, Marcel Delannoy, Eugene Bigot, offered a lunch to the famous Japanese composer and conductor M. Ekital-ahn from the European club."[277] Although this statement does not directly discuss the action by these individuals, the mere mention of the word "collaboration" connotes a negative association. This is negative connotation is further bolstered in the way that the FNM sometimes replaced "collaboration" with the German spelling "Kollaboration." In these articles the organization instructed its readers what is forbidden in the quest for national liberation; any fraternizing with the enemy was definitely against the mission of the FNM. Even small infractions taken by musicians were considered acts of collaboration. In the cover article for the October 1942 issue called "Faisons le point" ("Let's check in"), the FNM criticized some café musicians, saying, "[The] unemployed musician can earn 300 francs a day playing on the terraces of cafés… [These] people would be more useful to the 'European' cause by making shells in a German factory!" In other words, musicians who performed for the entertainment of their German patrons were in no way contributing to the liberation of the French.[278]

Even more damning was the assessment of critic Émile Vuillermoz in the last issue of *Musiciens d'ajourd'hui* from February 1944. This editorial, "Mort de quelqu'un" ("The Death of a Nobody"), read more like an obituary, mourning for the loss of a member of the musical

[277] "La section musicale du groupe 'Collaboration,' sous la présidence de M. Max d'Ollone, auquel s'étaient joints MM. Piersig, Sonnen, Florent Schmitt, Francis Casadesus, Gustave Samazeuilh, Marcel Delannoy, Eugene Bigot, a offert au cercle européen, un déjeuner au célèbre compositeur et chef d'orchestre japonais M. Ekital-ahn." *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, no. 6, June 1943, MRN.
[278] "[Le] musicien chômeur puisse gagner 300 frcs par jour en jouent aux terrasse des cafés, que ces gens là seraient plus utiles à la cause "européenne" en tournant des obus dans une usine en Allemagne!" *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, no. 4, October 1942, MRN.

community to the Germans. The FNM opened this pseudo-obituary with Vuillermoz's positive contributions to musical criticism: "Vuillermoz is very intelligent. His skill, his versatility, and his expediency are quite vivid… We know his culture and he knew how to speak excellently of Fauré, very well of Debussy, less well of Ravel. Familiar with these masters and their works, he long projected on them the lights of a very personal style, often using convincing and attractively picturesque metaphors. This music critic who—oh, miracle!—knew the music and knew how to write with so much talent was inevitably bound to inevitably acquire an enviable position."[279]

DOES ART HAVE NO HOMELAND?
Certainly
But the artists at least have one and
IN AN ENSLAVED HOMELAND
THERE IS NO ROOM FOR ART.

DOES ART HAVE NO HOMELAND?
Yes, for us French. It is why we hate and fight
THE BARBARIC NAZIS
WHO BLACKLISTED MENDELSOHN (sic)
AS A JEW, HINDEMITH AS A JEW,
WHO PROHIBIT THE WORKS OF
MILHAUD IN FRANCE AND
ELIMINATE FRENCH COMPOSERS
FROM OUR PROGRAMS!
IT IS JUST THAT THOSE
WHO COLLABORATE
WITH THE HITLERIENS
ARE TRAITORS![280]

**Figure 12. Section of "L'Art n'a pas de patrie?" Fonds René Roussel, Musée de la Résistance nationale**

[279] "Vuillermoz est fort intelligent. Son adresse, sa souplesse, son opportunisme sont très vifs... Nous connaissons sa culture et comment il a su parler excellemment de Fauré, for bien de Debussy, moins bien de Ravel. Familier de ces maîtres et leurs œuvres, il projeta longtemps sur celles-ci les feux d'un style très personnel, aux métaphores souvent convaincantes et d'un pittoresque attrayant. Ce critique musical qui, oh, miracle!, connaissait la musique et en même temps savait écrire avec tant de talent devait acquérir fatalement une place enviable." *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, no. 8, February 1944, MRN.

[280] The document continues along this vein, but these are the most noteworthy sections.

The positions referenced here include a regular column in the collaborationist *Comoedia* journal as well as the head of programming for German-influenced Vichy French National Radio.[281] The FNM accused Vuillermoz of shifting his alliances from France to Germany, specifically claiming that he traded the "Claude of France" (Debussy, the FNM's symbol of liberation) to the "Claude of Germany," or French engineer Georges Claude, a member of the organization Conseil National Consultatif by the Vichy regime. The article on Vuillermoz concludes by condemning him for his traitorous actions:

> "Thus, in this summer of 1943, the musician, the critic Émile Vuillermoz decides to devote himself to Georges Claude. Pathetic end to a twisted life… The passionate interpreter of *Penelope* and *Pelléas* sells himself to a traitor and miserably decides his fate. The friend of Claude of France becomes the valet of Claude of Germany…
>
> "As an infamous newspaper critic, Vuillermoz inaugurates his column with a report on *Peer Gynt*, by Werner Egk, which has just been performed at the Opera. Does he still remember what he wrote not so long ago about the works of Kurt Weill, who his shameful accomplices would deport today?
>
> "But what exactly can he remember?
>
> "For us, let it be assured, we will know not to forget."[282]

[281] Fulcher, 233.

[282] "Ainsi, en cet été de 1943, le musicien, le critique Émile Vuillermoz décide de se vouer à Georges Claude. Dérisoire achèvement d'une vie retorse… L'exégète passionné de Pénélope et de Pelléas se vend à un traitre et décide misérablement de sa fin. L'ami de Claude de France devient le valet de Claude d'Allemagne…
"Critique de journal infâme, Émile Vuillermoz inaugure sa rubrique par un compte-rendu du *Peer Gynt*, de Werner Egk que vient de représenter l'Opéra. Se souvient-il encore de ce qu'il écrivait il n'y a pas si longtemps des œuvres de ce Kurt Weil que déporteraient aujourd'hui ses honteux complices?
"Mais de quoi au juste peut-il se souvenir?

Thus the article concluded by cementing the "us vs. them" mentality of the FNM through the diametrically opposed "Claude of France" and "Claude of Germany," and by informing Vuillermoz that his actions will be severely judged. In the rhetoric of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, every situation was painted with black and white terms. Either one was for the resistance or was a traitor of France. By doing this, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* attempted to raise the stakes for its readers and urges them to think long and hard about how they wanted history to remember them. Another reason for such harsh rhetoric, though, was to urge readers of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* to take action against the German occupiers and collaborators, especially since in the logic of the FNM both small and large acts of collaboration were just as traitorous as each other. Instead of understanding Vuillermoz's work with collaborating entities as a means of survival or accommodation, the article instead used such positions as evidence of the "moral dishonesty" that Vuillermoz allegedly always had.

### 4.4 Following Debussy's Example: FNM's Concept of Collective Identity

Indeed, the FNM's underground newspaper *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* could be viewed as a series of "dos and don'ts" when supporting the resistance as a musician. While there were concrete actions the readers could take with the performance of music treated as a real resistant act, the overarching yet unspoken intention of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* was to create a sense of collective identity among its audience. As discussed in previous chapters, collective identity is a basic and

"Pour nous, qu'il en soit assuré, nous saurons ne pas oublier." *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, no. 8, February 1944, MRN.

necessary tactic of a social movement by creating a clear "us vs. them" delineation. Furthermore, the collective identity of a social movement can be thought of as its "community" among its members, in the sense of Shelemay's categorizations discussed in Chapter 1: affinity (love for a similar thing), dissent (hate for a similar thing), and descent (shared personal traits). The FNM occupied all three categories, as the organization was constructed around a love for music, a hatred of the German occupiers, and a claim of French identity.

These elements of collective identity manifested in the ways the FNM informed its readers of what consists of patriotic and traitorous acts through the lens of music, prominently in the editorials of each issue. One main concern of the FNM was the naturalization of French music as German by the occupiers. Fears surrounding the rhetoric about French music extended beyond Delannoy's comments, as in the fourth issue of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* the FNM voiced such anxieties that the Germans were annexing Berlioz by claiming he was "three-quarters German" and insisting that Debussy was a "fervent Wagnerian."[283] Similar to Saint-Saëns's mission twenty years earlier, the FNM used its platform to reclaim these French composers, especially its symbol of liberation, Debussy. As noted by Leslie Sprout, both the collaborators and the resistance staked a claim in Debussy as representative of its mission. Whereas the collaborators perceived Debussy's early fervor for Wagner as validation for the German presence in France (Delannoy's "marriage of love," for example), the resistance believed that such a perspective was a red herring that largely ignored Debussy's rejection of Wagnerian aesthetics in favor of the French masters.[284] As Debussy was France's most cherished and important composer at this point, the claim of Debussy as a symbol would bolster the virtue of either side's overall mission.

[283] Krivopissko 342.
[284] Sprout, 21.

Two editorials on Debussy published in *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* argued the FNM's perspective: "Debussy musicien français" in October 1942 and "Debussy le liberateur" in June 1943. Both of these articles attempted to debunk the idea that the Germans could lay claim to Debussy because of his early appreciation of Wagner. The first article referenced this aspect of Debussy's musical history, since the author acknowledged that in the *Five Poems of Baudelaire* and the interludes of *Pelléas et Mélisande* it was difficult not to hear Wagner's influence. That being said, the editorial diminished Wagner's impact by making two different but effective arguments. First, the author stated that while Debussy may have appreciated Wagner at one point, Debussy actually found appreciation in many non-French composers, including Balakirev, Chopin, Beethoven, and Scarlatti. It was therefore not important or significant that Debussy liked Wagner in any capacity, as he was just one of many other composers Debussy drew inspiration from. The author also argued that Debussy was mostly influenced by the French masters, including Massenet, Bizet, Chabrier, Rameau, and composers of the sixteenth century. This implied that Debussy followed the French tradition closely, and if the stylistic effects of these composers were so clear in Debussy's music to "real" French musicians then the Germans and the collaborators are in complete denial. In a seemingly perfect parallel, the editorial quoted one of Debussy's writings on Rameau that would have appeared in *La revue blanche* in response to his imaginary visitor "Monsieur Croche":

> "However, we had a pure French tradition in the work of Rameau, made of delicate and charming tenderness, of correct accents, of rigorous declamation in the storyline, without this affectation of German depth, nor the need to underscore through blows of the fist or to breathlessly explain the following: 'You are a

> collection of singular idiots who do not understand anything unless we do not force you in advance to believe the moon is made of green cheese.'"[285]

This was a rather critical statement of German music, in which Debussy indicated that German music (read: Wagner) was so over the top that its audiences were tricked into thinking it was better than it actually was.

The rest of the article followed this sentiment by focusing on Debussy's anti-Wagnerian writings. Debussy struck at the heart of Wagnerian aesthetics, claiming that Wagner's concept of "Art-Religion" actually did a disservice to his audiences by "alienating" their imagination. After all, Debussy warned the "one who shouts the loudest" was oftentimes not the "greatest" and should be met with skepticism. Ever mindful of the influence of Wagner up until the end of his life, Debussy wrote in 1915 amid the Great War that "victory must restore to artists a sense of the purity and nobility of French blood. We have an intellectual province to reconquer."[286] As during the Occupation, a victory over the Germans also necessitated the elevation of French art over that of the enemy. While the composer himself signed his own name as "Debussy musicien français" on his *Six Sonets*, it was this language that so closely paralleled the rhetoric of the FNM that its members believed and argued that Debussy was first and foremost in his life a French musician.

[285] "Nous avions pourtant une pure tradition française dans l'œuvre de Rameau, faite de tendresse délicate et charmante, d'accents justes, de déclamation rigoureuse dans le récit, sans cette affectation à la profondeur allemande, ni au besoin de soulingner à coups de poings, d'expliquer à perdre haleine qui semble dire: 'Vous êtes une collection d'idiots particuliers qui ne comprenez rien, si on ne vous forces d'avance à prendre des vessies pour des lanternes.'" *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui,* no. 4, October 1942, MRN. "Prendre des vessies pour des lanternes" literally translates to "to think that bladders are filled of lanterns," however the overall meaning of this idiom is "to believe that something is cooler than it actually is."

[286] "La victoire doit rendre aux artistes le sens de la pureté et de la noblesse du sang français. Nous avons là une province intellectuelle à reconquérir." *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui,* no. 4, October 1942, MRN.

In less words, the article "Debussy le liberateur" made a similar argument as above, yet this time situates Debussy in two ways: first, that Debussy believed that music needed to be liberated out from under the influence of Wagner; and second, that Debussy was the path towards liberation in the current situation of Occupation. In 1903 Debussy wrote that Wagner's hold on music was "tyrannical," causing music to "cry out in anguish." For Debussy, Wagner's music was almost like a "poison" upon contemporary minds and following after Wagner was committing a crime against the nation of France. Wagner's crimes according to the FNM were not his racism, specifically, his anti-Semitic attitudes as portrayed in his work *Judaism and Music* (which would have been a particularly relevant point during the Occupation), but it was his all-consuming and unapologetic Germanity that was more transgressive.[287] Coming full circle to Saint-Saëns, the FNM's article closed by stating, "Meditate on the example of a great musician who professed that if art has no country, the artists at least have one, and who, in full Wagnerian fashion, was able to prove it through a work that have liberated French music from under German tutelage."[288]

If it was not clear by this point, the issues the FNM brought up in these articles were not actually about Debussy or Wagner, but about the fears and anxieties musicians and the FNM held about German influence in France and what it could mean for the future of their art. According to Jane Fulcher, the identity constructed around Debussy by the resistance and the composer himself was based on a "falsely constructed French tradition."[289] In focusing on Debussy's love of "classicism," the FNM, much like Saint-Saëns, connected the French tradition of Greek classicism

[287] Jane Fulcher believes that Wagner's racism is implied in this article through statements, saying "[This] 'negative turn of spirit' is one found 'among those who profit from the disaster.'" However, the author is not explicit in denouncing his anti-Semitism and makes no direct reference to Jews, and so I do not feel comfortable in making the same semantic connection.
[288] "Méditez l'exemple du grand musicien qui professa que si l'art n'a pas de patrie, les artistes du moins en ont une, et qui, en pleine mode wagnérienne, sut le prouver par une œuvre qui a liberé la musique française de la tutelle germanique." *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, no. 6, June 1943, MRN.
[289] Fulcher, 120.

and humanistic ideology expressed in the Renaissance and the Enlightenment and directly sets this in opposition with that of German music and tradition.[290] By looking back towards the writings of "Claude of France," the musicians of the resistance reassured themselves that the collaborators were mistaken in who they shared alliances with—Debussy warned against such relationships years prior and the collaborators were willfully ignorant of his words. In this way, too, the FNM solidified that the German enemy it had was the same enemy France always had, the same one that prior French composers, including Debussy and Saint-Saëns, warned against. It was the FNM's duty to win this cultural war for France and to convince readers that they should remain true to their patriotic heritage.

### 4.5 Collaborative Actions by Members of the FNM?

I want to be clear that the judgment passed upon figures like Delannoy and Vuillermoz belong solely to *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* and are not my own. That being said, that this criticism is so prevalent in the journal demonstrates how important a tactic it was for the FNM, as it was effective in discouraging readers from working with the Occupiers. Given the powerful language against any collaboration then, one would assume that no FNM member would ever collaborate—even by small actions—with the enemy. This is why it is so surprising that most if not all of the FNM members did just that. For example, Désormière often participated in state-sponsored events during the Occupation, and Barraine accepted a Vichy-sponsored musical commission seemingly without personal conflict. Barraine, who acted as the head of the FNM, also worked as Delannoy's

[290] Ibid., 119.

orchestrator in the year of 1941. While that is a full year before *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* exposed him as a collaborator, Barraine most likely already perceived Delannoy as a collaborator and yet worked with him anyway, which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Composer Claude Delvincourt similarly traversed both sides of resistance and collaboration. In 1941, Delvincourt succeeded Henri Rabaud as the head of the Paris Conservatoire, which provided him an influential position in which to aid the resistance as early as September of that year. He offered the conservatory as a safe place where the FNM could hold meetings until at least 1942.[291] Very courageously, he used his position as head of the conservatory to protect students from the Service du travail obligatoire, a program in which young men and women were deported to work in German factories.[292] Delvincourt did this by establishing the Orchestre des cadets du Conservatorie for his students, which was comprised of eighty musicians and a choir of fifty singers, and used the orchestra as evidence that his students were performing necessary duties and therefore should not be deported.[293]

However, Delvincourt was not completely omitted from policies stemming from the Occupation, nor could he avoid cooperating with the government. For example, despite protecting many students from deportation, Delvincourt still had to obey policies imposed on the Conservatory. As exposed by musicologist Jean Gribenski, the Paris conservatorie was the only "metropolitan" French teaching establishment that completely excluded Jewish professors and pupils.[294] While this policy went into effect under Rabaud, Delvincourt had no choice but to continue the policy, meaning he could not protect Jewish musicians from deportation in that

[291] James E. Frazier, *Maurice Duruflé: The Man and his Music* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 165.
[292] Sprout, 31.
[293] Frazier, 165.
[294] Nigel Simeone, "Deep Water," *Musical Times* 142, no. 1876 (Autumn 2001), 64.

position. Furthermore, Delvincourt was involved in two state-controlled committees. In 1941 Delvincourt became the president of the Comité national de propaganda pour la musique, which was influential in deciding which musical organizations received state funding. Later in 1942, Delvincourt became involved with the Comité d'organisation professionelle de la musique, an organization created by collaborator Alfred Cortot and thereby earning the nickname "Comité Cortot." The Comité Cortot worked directly with the Vichy government under Pierre Laval to promote French music, similarly to the German Reichsmusikkammer.[295] Although it is hard to determine exactly what Delvincourt's feelings towards these committees were (it is possible he did believe their purposes were altruistic, as Delvincourt spoke on behalf Cortot after Libération and thereby preventing a full arrest), these examples show that it was impossible to fall only on the side of resistance or collaboration—the path many individuals would take lay somewhere in the middle. There were advantages to maintaining a public position, even if it meant taking part in collaboration in some form.

For his part, Francis Poulenc effectively used his position as one of the most popular composers and performers in France to openly critique the Occupation. While he resided in Noizay, a commune just outside of Tours, Poulenc frequently performed in Paris.[296] Although Denise Tual would mistakenly claim in a post-war interview that the music of young contemporary composers were banned, Poulenc performed and was performed in state sponsored events and large and small private concerts, as an assortment of his programs held at the Bibliothéque

[295] Frazier, 165; Simeone, 64.

[296] Myriam Chimènes and Roger Nichols, "Poulenc, Francis," Grove Music Online, Oxford University Press, 1 January 2001, accessed 13 November 2018, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000022202.

nationale de France archive contradict this statement.[297] Perhaps the most famous example of musical resistance from this entire period is found in his quotation of the French revanchist song "Vous n'aurez pas l'Alsace et la Lorraine" ("You won't have Alsace and Lorraine") in his ballet *Les Animaux modèles*, which premiered in front of a mostly German audience.[298] However, Jane Fulcher questions the effectiveness or even the intent of the resistant message here, as not only did the sample of the song go unnoticed upon orchestra members and the German audiences, but one could flip the meaning of the inclusion as a foil against the French for reminding listeners that France lost the contested region to Germany once again.[299]

In addition to his busy performance schedule, Poulenc also wrote short editorials for the then-collaborative magazines *La Nouvelle revue française* and *L'Information musicale*. *La Nouvelle revue française* is a literary magazine that was first published in 1909 and is still running present day, despite a hiatus from 1943 to 1953 when it faced a ban after the Occupation for its collaborative position.[300] *L'Information musicale*, according to Myriam Chimènes, was a weekly collaborative "trundle" magazine, meaning it published several journals within the same journal to have a monopoly over the musical press. These bulletins came from l'École normale de musique, the Conservatoire de Paris, the Jeunesses Musicales de France, and the Comité national de propaganda pour la musique. Along with newsletters and editorials, concert and event listings were also included under the "patronage of the Chief Marshal of State."[301] *L'Information musicale* was only published during the Occupation.

[297] These programs and the following articles can be found at the library record: "Trois dossiers de documents relatifs à Francis Poulenc constitués par André Lecoeur: coupures de presse, articles, programmes," VM DOS-14 (1 A 3), Music Department, Bibliothéque nationale de France, accessed 8 June 2016.
[298] Simeone, "Making Music in Occupied Paris," 349-350.
[299] Fulcher, 247.
[300] "La Nouvelle revue française," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 25 October 2013, accessed 31 October 2018, https://www.britannica.com/topic/La-Nouvelle-Revue-Francaise.
[301] Myriam Chimènes, "Introduction," *La Vie musicale sous Vichy* (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 2001), 28.

Poulenc's editorials for these collaborative journals are notable because he only wrote for these magazines during the Occupation. While Poulenc obviously could only write for *L'Information musicale* during this period, the then forty-two-year-old composer did not write for *la Nouvelle revue française* before the Occupation, nor when it was reinstated in 1953. Poulenc wrote four articles total, two for each magazine and three of which were published in 1941. These three articles mainly focus on composers that Poulenc revered, including an article about Igor Stravinsky in *L'Information musicale* for January 3, 1941, and articles on Maurice Ravel and Emmanuel Chabrier in *La Nouvelle revue française* for January 1 and July 1941 1 respectively. The final article for *L'Information musicale* was published in March 1944 in honor of musicologist Louis Laloy, who was Debussy's first biographer and who had died on the fourth of that month.

For a moment I will focus on the writings of 1941, as I feel the language Poulenc employed predicts that of the editorials on Debussy as displayed above. Even though the earliest record of Poulenc's membership to the FNM is in the summer of 1942,[302] Poulenc used a similar rhetorical voice to that of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* by making a claim to the "Frenchness" of these composers. Aa a result, he seemed to be, albeit carefully, critiquing musical perspectives enforced because of the Occupation. It is important to note that none of these composers were officially outright banned from performance, as Leslie Sprout has pointed out.[303] However, narratives and attitudes towards French composers were shifting, as demonstrated in the FNM's anxiety over Berlioz's heritage.[304] Poulenc for his part was not blatantly forthright about his critique but was careful to distance Ravel and Chabrier from the Germans and the collaborators. For example, in his editorial "Le cœur de Maurice Ravel," Poulenc took to task known collaborator Florent Schmitt

[302] Sprout, 21.
[303] Ibid., 84.
[304] Krivopissko, 342.

who had previously said that Ravel's *Rhapsodie espagnole* should be broken up so that "fools" in the audience could better understand it. Poulenc was upset by this criticism, as Schmitt both insinuated that the work of a "master" is not composed well and was incomprehensible and that the French audiences listening to the *Rhapsodie* would not be capable of understanding it. Poulenc replied, "Now the 'fools,'—sorry, the word is not mine—have understood. Let's be very sure that what they applaud for is not the amazing instrumental innovations of Ravel but for *the very matter of music*."[305]

Later that year, in "Centenaire de Chabrier," Poulenc would write what was on its face a very general article on Chabrier and his music in honor of Chabrier's one-hundredth birthday. Poulenc went through the development of Chabrier's music and addressed his feelings towards Chabrier's work, admitting early on that he did not think Chabrier's early music was interesting (and even that it was "snobby") but that Chabrier found his voice by *Suite pastorale*. The last couple pages of his article are of particular interest, though, because Poulenc highlighted the Wagner question. While he acknowledged that Chabrier was indeed a Wagnerian, Poulenc insisted that Chabrier's music actually held "Latin" roots and that in his paramount work *Gwendoline* Chabrier actually "instinctively rejected" Wagnerian inclinations. Poulenc did not expand on what he means by calling *Gwendoline* "profoundly Latin"—I take this to mean "classical." Finally, at the end of the article, Poulenc wrote a postscript that implicated Wagner once again, even if he did not directly discuss him: "Could I advise the seekers of spiritual lineages to open *Gwendoline*'s score for piano and voice to page 184? At the third accolade, if we imagine we are reading Arkel

[305] "Maintenant 'les imbéciles,'—pardon, le mot n'est pas de moi—ont compris et soyons bien certains que ce qu'ils applaudissent ce ne sont pas les étonnantes innovations instrumentales de Ravel mais la matière même de la musique." "Le cœur de Maurice Ravel," *La Nouvelle revue française*, no. 323 (1 January 1941), Dossier 2, VM DOS-14 (1 A 3), Music Department, Bibliothéque nationale de France, accessed 8 June 2016.

instead of Armel, would we not believe the first two measures escaped *Pelléas*. They are fifteen years apart."[306] Although Wagner's name was never mentioned, the implication is clear: Poulenc argues that Debussy's *Pelléas*, which as discussed previously was widely presumed to be a Wagnerian work, actually held roots in Chabrier's *Gwendoline*. This was, of course, a delicate maneuver in a collaborative press, but Poulenc here is attempting to do what *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* has argued in a much more publicly accessible magazine.

I have left the first article on Igor Stravinsky for last because of the context surrounding its content. As was indicated before, Sprout has argued that Denise Tual was incorrect in her memory of what music was banned and what was permitted. According to Tual, the Germans had banned all new music, the music of composers who have escaped France, and the music of composers who lived in the unoccupied zone. Sprout claims that no such ban on contemporary music had ever existed, including that on Stravinsky's music.[307] However, what I find interesting about Tual's memory and her insistence on performing these works in her salon is that there was clearly an anxiety surrounding performances of modern works. After all, the Germans *did* have very strong views—especially within their own country—on modern music, and Stravinsky held a unique position in the musical taste of Nazi Germany. Musicologist Joan Evans posits that while Stravinsky was admired and frequently performed in the early years of Nazi Germany, by the time the war broke out in 1939 Stravinsky's music was completely banned in Germany due to his Russian heritage and questions surrounding his Jewish identity.[308] Musical circles in France would

[306] "Puis-je conseiller aux chercheurs de parentés spirituelles d'ouvrir la partition pour piano et chant de Gwendoline à la page 184? A la troisième accolade, si l'on pousse le jeu jusqu'à lire Arkel au liue d'Armel, ne croirait-on pas les deux premières mesures échappées de Pelléas. Elles sont de quinze-ans antérieures." "Centenaire de Chabrier," *La Nouvelle revue française*, no. 329 (1 July 1941), Dossier 2, VM DOS-14 (1 A 3), Music Department, Bibliothéque nationale de France, accessed 8 June 2016.
[307] Sprout, 84.
[308] Joan Evans, "Stravinsky's Music in Hitler's Germany," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 3 (Fall 2003), 581-582.

know of this ban on Stravinsky, and even if there was no such official ban on his music in Occupied France people likely assumed that a similar policy towards Stravinsky and other composers who fled Europe would apply. Indeed, Jane Fulcher notes that the reservation surrounding the performance of Stravinsky's works stemmed from his Russian heritage, and as French pro-fascist press continued to denounce interwar music, neo-classist composers such as Stravinsky were then rarely performed.[309]

Perhaps this is why Poulenc wrote the article "Igor Stravinsky" for the January 3, 1941 issue of *l'Information musicale*. In the article, Poulenc very personally, just as with the other two composers discussed above, described his appreciation for Stravinsky and how he had been influenced by Stravinsky's music, as have many other young French composers. However, the main reason why Poulenc wrote this article was to insist that Stravinsky's music should be performed more than it was in that current season.[310] After writing about the joy he derived from the overture of *Maura* or the finale of *Pulcinella*, Poulenc mourned:

> "Unfortunately I must find these joys elsewhere other than concerts because, except for a splendid performance of *The Firebird*, under the direction of Ch. Münch, Stravinsky's name has not appeared in the programs of Sunday concerts since the beginning of the season. What a strange way to pay tribute to one of the greatest musicians of all time who, moreover, who honored us by applying for French citizenship."[311]

[309] Fulcher, 250.
[310] Sprout 3.
[311] "Ces joies, malheureusement, il me faut les chercher ailleurs qu'au concert car, exceptée une splendide exécution de L'Oiseau de Feu, sous la direction de Ch. Münch, le nom de Stravinsky n'a pas figuré une seule fois aux programmes des concerts dominicaux depuis la rentrée. Quelle étrange façon de rendre hommage à l'un des plus

In this statement, Poulenc echoed the anxiety surrounding what music could and could not be performed under occupation. Even if a ban on Stravinsky's music was nonexistent, placing Stravinsky on the same level as other French greats did seem to be a political statement for Poulenc.

It is hard to determine just how many performances of Stravinsky's music were programmed during the Occupation. In other issues of *L'Information musicale*, such as from April 4, April 18, and December 19, 1941, Stravinsky was only programmed on four separate concerts; there are no advertised concerts that programmed Stravinsky in the initial 3 January issue. Of course, there were other issues of *L'Information musicale* that were not preserved in bibliographical record at the Bibliothéque nationale, so this cannot stand as a complete analysis. Indeed, more research needs to be done on the actual programmed music from the Occupation as displayed in *L'Information musicale*. However, that Stravinsky only appeared four times in the concert listings of these issues supported Poulenc's complaint that this composer who once was frequently performed in Paris suddenly had a noticeable dearth in programming. Overall, though, these three articles by Poulenc demonstrate that the French composer was not shy of using his musical influence to make statements that may be perceived critical of and defensive against that of the German occupiers and its collaborators. Such a public, albeit diplomatic, demonstration of dissent would not be possible if Poulenc did not maintain his public persona outside of the resistance.

grands musiciens de tous les temps qui, de plus, nous a fait l'honneur de solliciter la nationalité française." "Igor Stravinsky," *L'Information musicale*, no. 7 (3 January 1941), Dossier 2, VM DOS-14 (1 A 3), Music Department, Bibliothéque nationale de France, accessed 8 June 2016.

## 4.6 Conclusion

I argue what we actually witness here is that people shift back and forth between modes of resistance, both public and private; the members of the FNM did this as well. The authors of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* and the members of the FNM remained anonymous in public life out of necessity. There are many reasons why any one person may have worked with the invading regime, as historian Philippe Burrin explains in his scholarship. To reiterate, Burrin re-conceptualizes collaboration by analyzing the context of that collaboration, and in some cases, he argues, collaboration was not an enthusiastic choice, but a "necessary, lesser evil" that could be more thought of as accommodation. Burrin posits this is why even people who worked for the resistance efforts maintained a day job with collaborating organizations.[312]

This is one plausible explanation as to why FNM members may have worked with state organizations, even though on the surface it may seem hypocritical. As the experiences of several of the musicians discussed here demonstrate, there are advantages to maintaining a public position, even if that meant working for the occupiers and collaborators: those in positions of power have the ability to enact change that can protect those more vulnerable under them; a public identity allows for individuals to do their resistance work under the radar; and finally, by becoming involved with certain organizations and committees, individuals could use their influence to affect policy, similarly to Pierre Scaheffer's work in Chapter 2.

In the end, it is difficult to determine how effective the journal *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* was as a tactic for the FNM. The organization did increase in numbers over the years, as can be

[312] Philippe Burrin, *Living with Defeat: France Under the German Occupation, 1940-1944*, trans. Janet Llyod (London: Arnold Publishers, 1996), 1-2.

seen in a progress chart from March 1943 to 1944 (Figure 13).[313] As *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* was listed under "activities," the FNM must have believed that the newspaper was effective as a tactic. Indeed, the FNM perceived literature as such a productive and successful tactic that it had instated the start of two other underground journals: *Russie d'aujourd'hui* and *Musicien Patriote*. Also, this report indicates there was a ninth issue of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* that was in print, however as *Les Lettres françaises* had absorbed the newspaper in February 1944, this would most likely become the first issue of a new journal called *Le Musicien aujourd'hui*.[314]

**Musicians**
**March 1943—March 1944**

| March 1943 | March 1944 |
|---|---|
| A.) Composers<br>1. Committee: 8 members<br>2. Members outside the committee: 5 members | A.) Composers<br>1. Committee: 10 members, reduced to 9 by the elimination of one of them<br>2. Members outside the committee: 8 composers, 3 soloists, 1 musicologist |
| B.) Orchestra Musicians: 1 in liaison with us and 99 scattered | B.) Orchestra Musicians: 3 in liaison with us |
| C.) Singers: None | C.) Singers: A group of 8 singers has been established! |

Activities:

A.) Journals:

1. No. Special of *Russie d'aujourd'hui*: dedicated to music in the USSR
2. *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*: Released nos. 6 and 7; No. 8 (submitted about half a month was published in March '44); No. 9 in press
3. No. 1 of *Musicien Patriote*

B.) Concerts

A concert planned with a program that was discussed and accepted by the committee in the month of July produced no result. It was brought into question in October, because of dissents from the conductor and the committee of his association.

313 "Musiciens: Mars 1943-Mars 1944," FNM report, Fonds Pierre Villon, MRN, accessed 1 June 2016.
314 Fulcher, 121.

- 1 Chamber Music Concert, partly composed of censored works was given on the initiative of our supporters. Another is under study.
- Various works of our musicians have been composed on texts of patriotic poets.

C.) Orchestra Musicians
Large difficulties appear when recruiting them. Three comrades have been successfully appointed for this work, but have yet to produce any positive results.

**Figure 13. FNM Report, Fonds Pierre Villon, Musée de la Résistance nationale**

Finally, this report indicated that the performance of music, especially banned music, was a successful tactic, as it discussed plans to hold a concert in the year of 1944 music setting the texts of resistant poets. One such composition, Elsa Barraine's *Avis*, will be discussed in great detail in the next chapter. Given the sensitivity of the concert repertoire, the FNM had clear issues organizing the concert and were at the time of the report unsuccessful in doing so. Perhaps it was the obstacles that the FNM had in its organizational processes that members looked back on their activities during the Occupation with skepticism. In his essay "Musique et résistance," FNM member Henry Barraud confessed that he did not believe that the FNM offered anything of value to the overall mission of the French Résistance. Barraud's brother, Jean, was a soldier in the resistance forces who lost his life in the war, and Barraud felt that the efforts of groups like the FNM could not even begin to compare with these "authentic heroes."[315]

However, I do not want to diminish the work that the members of the FNM did just because they did not pick up a weapon and fight. Their commitment to the liberating struggle permeated their everyday lived experiences and shown through their passion for the art they created. Furthermore, members of the FNM saw how powerful the force of music was, both in live

[315] Henry Barraud, "Musique et Résistance," *Counterpoints* no. 1 (January 1946), BnF.

performance and the compositional process and through the strong love of music that readers of *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* had. There is a certain strength in laying claim to a composer or a work of music, even as those in power attempt to take it for themselves. "Resistance" is the refusal to be subsumed by another. This was the core belief of the Front national des musiciens.

## 5.0 Elsa Barraine's Personal Narrative of Resistance as Survival

The previous chapter demonstrated the difficult and sometimes contradictory decisions many composers and musicians had to take to be an active part of the Résistance while at the same time finding productive ways to survive the Occupation. As such difficult choices had to be made: accepting a state commission may provide a composer with the funds to buy food for another day, or even help support a friend who had to go into hiding; adhering to Vichy's terribly racist and anti-Semitic laws may allow one to protect other young French citizens; taking a position for a collaborating state organization may provide the ability to enact change and influence policy. All of these actions were ones that are publicly visible but had private motivations and agendas. Because of the work they did within the Résistance, many members of the Front national des musiciens (FNM) were in favorable standings after the Libération and obtained high-ranking and influential positions. It was the FNM that assembled the list of composers, directors, and musicians to appear for trial before the Comité d'épuration.[316] This gave the FNM a public forum to publicly shame those who belonged to the group Collaboration, which was a powerful position indeed.

That being said, many members of the FNM could carry out this dual life because of their own identities as powerful, revered, and, most importantly, non-Jewish French citizens. Drawing on the individuals discussed in the last couple of chapters alone, Pierre Schaeffer, Francis Poulenc, Claude Delvincourt, and Roger Désormière were not subject to race laws due to their non-Jewish status. This by no means insinuates that surviving the Occupation was easy for these individuals, nor does it diminish the responsibility and courage that these individuals felt in protecting other

[316] Fulcher, 235.

French musicians. However, their experience of the Occupation would, of course, diverge greatly from that of a Jewish person living under occupation.

This final chapter focuses on the very courageous activity taken by FNM founder Elsa Barraine (1910-1999). Barraine was a Jewish woman composer who was very active within resistance circles and who greatly struggled under the constraints of the Occupation as she attempted to carry out her resistance work and also maintain a steady position. Throughout the Occupation Barraine still composed in some capacity, an activity that she sometimes had difficulty justifying given the climate she lived in. As such, this chapter seriously considers a question that scholar Lily E. Hirsch posed in studying this period: "What is the place of music in times of danger?"[317] Indeed, this question has hovered in the background of every chapter of this study, and each individual discussed had their motivations and reasons for doing so. But for Barraine this question was at the core of her lived experience. By exploring eighty-two private letters Barraine sent to her friend Louis Saguer (né Wolfgang Simoni, 1907-1991), I maintain that Barraine used music as a way to understand the trauma she endured under Occupation and understand her position within it. I also analyze how Barraine's participation with the Résistance influenced her 1944 composition *Avis*, a work that was composed at the end of the Occupation and not performed until after the Libération. Through this analysis I expound on Scott's position of hidden transcripts, mediated through an understanding of Foucauldian power relations, and demonstrate how public and personal acts of resistance inform one another. Resistance in itself is survival.

[317] Lily E. Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Culture League* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 6.

## 5.1 Barraine's Life and Work with the Résistance

Elsa Barraine once enjoyed high influence in Parisian musical circles. Born into a musical family, Barraine was arguably a child prodigy, as she entered the Paris Conservatoire in 1919 at the young age of nine alongside the eleven-year-old Olivier Messiaen. At the Conservatoire she studied composition with Paul Dukas, who was a member of the Counseil supérieur d'enseignement.[318] Under Dukas's tutelage, Barraine's musical education focused primarily on the works of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Berlioz, and Debussy, and, as had been mentioned numerous times during her career, her musical style was influenced by that of her teacher.[319] After only two attempts, Barraine became the fourth woman composer awarded the coveted Grand Prix de Rome in 1929 for her sacred cantata *La vierge guerrière* at only nineteen years of age.[320] She held prominent positions in various musical organizations throughout her lifetime. From 1936 to 1940 she was head of singing for the Orchestre Nationale of Radiodiffusion Français, and, following the war, Barraine was the director of the recording firm of the music company Chant du Monde from 1944 to 1947. In 1953 Barraine became the professor of sight-reading at the Conservatoire

318 Barraine's parents were Mathieu and Octavie Jeanne Barraine. Mathieu was the principal cellist for the Opéra de Paris. Barraine had no former schooling prior to the Conservatoire. Laura Hamer, "Beyond Neoclassicism: Symphonic Form, Catharsis, and Political Commentary in Barraine's *Deuxième symphonie* (1938)," in *Historical Interplay in French Music Culture, 1860-1960*, ed. Deborah Mawer (New York: Routledge, 2018), 122, 127; "Key Dates: Deux siècles d'histoire," *Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique et de Danse de Paris*, accessed 21 March 2018, http://www.conservatoiredeparis.fr/en/lecole/histoire/dates-cles/.

319 Laura Hamer, "Paul Dukas's Female Composition Students," in *Female Composers, Conductors, Performers: Musiciennes of Interwar France, 1919-1939* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 122, 127.

320 The Prix de Rome was a coveted scholarship and tradition among French artists that existed from the late seventeenth century to its end in 1968. By Barraine's time, the scholarship provided winners with a generous income, performance and publication opportunities, and a study in Italian music for two years at the Villa Medici in Rome. Barraine hated her stay at the Villa, however, as she found the conditions deplorable and infested with rats. Françoise Andrieux and James R. Briscoe, "Barraine, Elsa," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 30 September 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.pitt.idm.oclc.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/02102.

National Supérieur, where she would also take over Messiaen's analysis class in 1969 and held both positions until 1974.[321]

Barraine had often engaged in politics throughout much of her career. In 1938 Barraine joined the Parti communiste française to take a stand against the rise of communism and anti-Semitism in Europe. As a result, her ideology seeped into her musical output, and Barraine garnered an interest in folk music and popular songs as a result of her communist beliefs.[322] For example, she published arrangements and orchestrations of popular songs for several editions of *L'Art Musical Populaire*. She published articles on the subject in the journal *Chroniques* with other musicians like Louis Saguer.[323]

However, today she is mostly remembered as a founder, in September of 1940, of the FNM alongside conductor Roger Désormière and composer Louis Durey, which was formed after the dissolution of the Parti communiste française with the invasion of the USSR. As discussed in the previous chapter, one of the FNM's main tactics was distributing an underground newspaper called *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*. Alongside sections highlighting French works and composers, such as Debussy's *Pelleas et Melisande* and Faure's *Penelope*, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* had to include certain items of propaganda in the eight editions of the newspaper, with prominent editorials focusing on the perceived successful missions of the armed faction Francs-Tireurs et Partisans (such as acts of sabotage of trains and cargo loads), and informing readers of the successes of the Allied Forces and foils of the Axis Powers.[324] Such topics and information most likely came from Pierre Villon, who represented le Front national in the umbrella group Conseil National de la

[321] Pierrette Germain-David, "Repères biographiques," in *Elsa Barraine (1910-1999) une compositrice au XXème siècle*, ed. Odile Bourin et. al. (Paris: Delatour France, 2010), 15, 21.
[322] Hamer, "Beyond Neoclassicism," 123.
[323] Germain-David, 17.
[324] Atack, 32-33.

Résistance. In a letter simply titled "Pour ELSA," Villon instructed Barraine how to conduct FNM meetings and gave suggestions for potential articles in *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, such as "Nationalism and Humanism in Music," "German Music at the Service of Nazi Regression," and "French Music and its Traditions of Humanism."[325]

This letter indicates that Barraine had a prominent role in the FNM's resistance efforts. Certainly, her influence can be found in numerous documents relating to the organization. This includes an anonymous draft of statements and slogans that would appear in *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* which was most likely written by Barraine, as the handwriting is similar to that found in her correspondence (Figure 12, previous chapter).[326] In this document, she worked out the FNM's slogan, "Does art have no homeland?" ("L'art n'a pas de patrie?"), a phrase that was inspired by composer Camille Saint-Saens's rhetorical statement in his anti-German essay *Germanophilie*. Barraine followed this statement by condemning "barbaric" Nazis and declaring anyone who collaborates with them as traitors. In addition to being the liaison to Villon and the greater Front National, Barraine directed much of the messaging for the FNM.[327] Following the war, the English *News Chronicle* hailed Barraine, stating, "She ceased composing to aid resistance."[328] This is, then, the main trope of Barraine's characterization as a historical figure: that her activity during the Occupation was one-dimensional and dedicated only to the Resistance.

325 "Nationalisme et Humanisme en Musique," "Musique allemande au service de la regression nazie," and "Musique française et ses traditions d'humanisme." Pierre Villon, "Pour ELSA," date unknown, MRN, Fonds Pierre Villon, accessed 1 June 2016.
326 Karine Le Bail thinks that the draft is most likely written by Pierre Villon, but the weight of the pen and the font style reflects Barraine's handwriting. "L'art n'a pas de patrie?" handwritten article, author and date unknown, Musée de la Résistance nationale (MRN), Champigny-sur-Marne, Fonds René Roussel, accessed 1 June 2016.
327 Le Bail, 180.
328 Admittedly, the article spoke very little of her actual compositions, despite being a review of a performance of her Second Symphony. "She ceased composing to aid resistance," *News Chronicle*, author and date unknown, Bibliothèque national de France (BnF), Paris, VM BOB-35940, accessed 3 June 2016.

Considering her heavy involvement, though, it is surprising that Barraine spoke very little of her resistance efforts in any of her eighty-two letters to her friend Louis Saguer, a contemporary Jewish composer who originated from Vienna. The only time she referenced any of these efforts was in a handful of letters from April 1943 when Barraine procured illegal documents that saved Saguer from deportation. Instead, these letters portray Barraine as a multi-faceted person, who had complicated feelings in regards to resistance, music, and, in general, her status as a human being with agency over her life and world. These documents offer a detailed narrative of life under occupation in which Barraine regularly commented on three main themes: her search for steady employment; her misery under the constraints of the new regime; and her escapist fantasies of joining Saguer in the southern "free" zone. Her letters and compositions expose Barraine's personal motivations and anxieties that influenced her resistance efforts during the Occupation.

### 5.2 A Means of Survival: Narratives of the Occupation

It is an understatement to say that Barraine was concerned about maintaining steady employment; essentially all French musicians and composers were in the same precarious situation. French scholars such as Myriam Chimènes, Karine Le Bail, and Cécile Quesney focus on the difficult decisions some musicians, like conductors Alfred Cortot and critic Marcel Delannoy, had to make to establish a flow of income and to ensure their safety. This often placed musicians on the side of collaboration or resistance, although there are many, like Francis Poulenc, Arthur Honegger, and Pierre Schaeffer, who necessarily had to play both sides. Furthermore, maintaining a steady position was also met with obstacles. For example, Henri Büsser's position as conductor at the Opéra-Comique was in jeopardy in 1941 after he was accused of not only being

Jewish but also of making “inflammatory remarks” about Richard Wagner—both of which he vehemently denied. As evidence of how much of a Wagnerian he was, Büsser cited a letter sent to him by Saint-Saëns in 1917, who rebuked him for taking too much pleasure in conducting Wagner.[329] Büsser ultimately lost his position.[330] Similarly, Barraine’s father was dismissed from his position as the principal cellist of the Opéra de Paris because of his Jewish heritage.

As mentioned above, Barraine was employed with the orchestra of Radiodiffusion Française preceding the war. At the advent of the war, the orchestra was downsized and relocated to Rennes, and then later disbanded on June 16, 1940, after the city was bombed.[331] Barraine was sent back to Paris, and following this event a vague timeline of her employment status during the Occupation has been established in scholarship.[332] According to the widely consulted *Grove Music Online*, Barraine had only dedicated her time to the Résistance during this period and then returned to radio after the Libération.[333] Music historian Pierrette Germain-David is slightly more informed, noting that Barraine worked briefly as a voice teacher in Aubervilles and held other “lucrative” musical gigs, such as accompanying tap-dancers in Pigalle.[334]

Barraine was incredibly detailed about her employment status in the letters with Saguer, almost to an obsessive point. The importance of maintaining a job was highlighted by the fill-in-the-blank postcards that were authorized to cross zones at the start of the Occupation, which had a specific blank for where one was working.[335] Barraine was actually employed with Radio France

[329] Letter Henri Büsser a Marie Louise Böellman, 1 August 1941, BnF, VM BOB-19951, accessed 27 June 2017.
[330] Barbara L. Kelly, "Büsser, Henri," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 30 September 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.pitt.idm.oclc.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/04443.
[331] Alain Pâris, “Orchestre national de France,” *Encyclopædia Universalis*, accessed 19 September 2017, http://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/orchestre-national-de-france.
[332] Letter Elsa Barraine to Louis Saguer, 6 August 1940, BnF, VM BOB-28705, accessed 2 June 2016.
[333] Andrieux, “Barraine, Elsa.”
[334] Germain-David, 17.
[335] Ian Ousby, *Occupation: The Ordeal of France 1940-1944* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 69.

well into 1941 before ending her tenure with them, informing Saguer that she "vacated" her position with the radio's Orchestre national because the shift in administration under the Vichy regime made the work environment confusing.[336] Barraine would continue to work on and off for the radio throughout the Occupation, composing incidental music or arranging of other musical works for them.

The one position that Barraine truly detested, though, was as an orchestrator for known-collaborator Marcel Delannoy. As discussed in the previous chapter, Delannoy was something of an easy target for the FNM to complain about in *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*. Not only was Delannoy a part of the group Collaboration, but he also often insulted the sentiments and mission of the FNM by saying the Occupation represented a "marriage" of French and German music. By analyzing Barraine's letters, though, some suspicion may be cast upon the frequency of Delannoy's name appearing in the underground newspaper, especially given the timing. Barraine worked for Delannoy for almost the entire duration of 1941, after the FNM was already formed. It is very likely that the opinion Barraine formed of Delannoy during this period (or already held before this period of employment) influenced the decision to shame Delannoy in *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui.* It is not my intention in this paper to pass judgment on Delannoy or anyone else in regards to working with or for the state.[337] However, what is more fascinating is how Barraine situated different individuals in her life and how she passed judgement on them in accordance with her worldview, as displayed in her correspondence.

Barraine complained about Delannoy in extended tirades in letters to Saguer from 1941. Barraine was known to have a strong personality, and once she judged someone's character she

[336] Letter Elsa Barraine to Louis Saguer, 7 Jan. 1941, BnF, VM BOB-28705, accessed 2 June 2016.
[337] For a critical exploration of Delannoy's collaboration, see Quesney's dissertation cited above.

very rarely ever made concessions or changed her opinion.[338] We may briefly compare, for instance, Barraine's opinion of Delannoy with that of Arthur Honegger, who followed a similar career trajectory during the Occupation as that of Delannoy and who Barraine considered a close friend. As Leslie Sprout indicates, Honegger and Delannoy both controversially traveled to Vienna in 1941 and published a music column for a German-influenced newspaper, *Comoedia*. Additionally, Honegger's support for German propaganda earned him special opportunities, such as visas for concert tours around Europe.[339] While Honegger was once a member of the FNM, he was asked in late 1943 to withdraw from the resistance organization (and officially removed early 1944) due to these questionable activities. His removal was not a decision made by members from the FNM, however; rather, pressure from resistance writers Louis Aragon and Claude Morgan that Honegger was removed from the FNM.[340] Despite all of this, Honegger was conveniently left off of the FNM's list for the purge committee. Whenever Barraine spoke of Honegger in her letters (under the name "Arthur") it is always fondly, and she was often worried about his safety. Even though Honegger also collaborated with the Occupiers and the state, he remained without stain in Barraine's eyes, a stark contrast to her persistently negative view of Delannoy.

As demonstrated from this comparison, Barraine was already friends with Honegger, and so his collaboration did not influence her opinion of him. It can be inferred, then, that her distaste for Delannoy stemmed from long before the invasion, and *his* collaboration was just more evidence of how terrible a person he was in Barraine's mind. This was no more evident in the particular manner Barraine described Delannoy in her letters as if she suspected that he was involved in some

[338] Pierrette Germain-David, "La personnalité d'Elsa Barraine," in *Elsa Barraine (1910-1999) une compositrice au XXème siècle*, ed. Odile Bourin et. al. (Paris: Delatour France, 2010), 27.
[339] Sprout, 41, 71.
[340] Fulcher, 221, 234.

nefarious activity. For instance, in a July 1941 letter where she is describing the status of people in her life, Barraine wrote that "Marcel Delannoy [is] invisible and lurking."[341] Even earlier than this letter Barraine wrote a damning accusation of Delannoy, Henry Barraud, and Georges Auric in comparison to Désormière, who she believed was a genuinely good person and was "solid like a rock." She stated:

> "The other musicians are bastards. They are already embarking on idiotic projects of corporations and they only see by means of 'chamber music,' like… where elsewhere there is no music at all. Guys like Delannoy, H. Barraud, Auric, etc… are all Hitlerian. The others get embroiled in writing music that they will not be able to get played anywhere! Bleak musical activity. Beethoven. Wagner in the associations, as it was before, as it will always be. No real beautiful musical expression. Nothing. It's an ugly mess!"[342]

This statement should not be understood as undeniable evidence that any of these composers were actual collaborators. Barraud and Auric, after all, would join the FNM (and remain with the organization) within a year of this particular letter. Yet even after they joined the FNM, Barraine would still make off-handed comments about these composers in letters to Saguer. The above quote demonstrates that Barraine had already concluded in her mind which musicians and

[341] "Marcel Delannoy [sic] invisible et tapi." Letter Elsa Barraine to Louis Saguer, 3 July 1941, BnF, VM BOB-28705, accessed 28 June 2017.

[342] "Les autres musiciens sont des salauds, ils sont déjà embarqués dans des projets idiots de corporations et ils ne voient plus que par la "musique de chambre," à l'instar de... où d'ailleurs il n'y a rien du tout en fait de musique. Des types comme Delannoy, H. Barraud, Auric, etc... sont tout à fait hitlérisés. Les autres s'embarbouillent à écrire de la musique qu'ils ne pourront faire jouer nulle part! Activité musicale noire. Beethoven. Wagner dans les associations, comme avant, comme toujours. Aucune réelle belle manifestation de musique. Rien. C'est d'un moche!" Letter Elsa Barraine to Louis Saguer, 10 January 1941, BnF, VM BOB-28705, accessed 2 June 2016.

composers were collaborators (or even worse, "Hitlerian") who were to be met with suspicion. Regardless, Barraine's characterization of these composers during the Occupation was unfair since, as previously discussed, many members of the resistance organization would partake in various levels of collaborative activity. Désormière participated in state-sponsored events during the Occupation often, and Barraine would participate as well—she even accepted a Vichy-sponsored musical commission without personal conflict.

Despite these contradictions, Barraine's opinion of Delannoy never wavered. Additionally, it is clear in her correspondence with Saguer that orchestrating compositions for Delannoy left her largely unfulfilled, as she described her work as "banal" and "unimportant" and questioned his competence as a conductor. In the same breath, though, Barraine admitted that she was somewhat interested in the work she was doing for him, and in a particular case, the orchestration of an operetta: "After a moment of respite, I am at the Theatre X… to work on an operetta. It is all unimportant. But I must admit to my shame that it interests me as well."[343] Her discontent specifically stemmed from working with Delannoy, not necessarily working with the music she engaged. And so Barraine found herself in somewhat of a paradox, as she was forced to work with someone she greatly detested while at the same time she had found great pleasure in the music she engaged with during this employment period. In the same letter, she must have realized at some point the contradiction, as she attempts to reconcile these emotions to Saguer in a letter of August 1941: "I would even be grateful washing chamber pots… For me, it does not change what I think

[343] "Après un moment de creux, je suis au Théâtre X… pour faire travailler une opérette. Tout ce la sans importance. Mais j'avoue qu'à ma honte cela m'intéresse aussi." Letter Elsa Barraine to Louis Saguer, 3 July and August 1941, BnF, VM BOB-28705, accessed 2 June 2016.

of them (Delannoy and composer Georges Auric). Simply, I do not worry anymore and accept everything without shame. Do as I do." [344]

This letter indicated that the Occupation steadily affected Barraine's attitudes towards music and composition. Within this one letter, Barraine was conflicted about her musical activity with someone she greatly disliked, and who potentially compromised her morals. She instead compartmentalized the music she performed and arranged for Delannoy, then, as specifically something intended for work, not for pleasure. As the Occupation wore on, her relationship with music and her role as a composer deteriorated. At the end of 1941, almost a full year into her controversial employment, Barraine's distress persisted due to several factors. One was her health, which, like many others, took a toll under the constraints of occupation. She told Saguer in December how physically thin she felt, and in another letter described how miserable her father was, which she suspected was largely due to the diet that they were forced to adopt because of the food rations.[345] The following year, in mid-December 1942, Barraine herself would fall ill. Even though she seemed severely ill (noting that she is "as sick as you [Saguer] feared") Barraine did not find medical treatment until January 16, 1943. The hospital released her immediately as her condition was not serious enough and its resources were already strained.[346]

What Barraine was most likely experiencing was not a serious physical illness but a side effect of her depression, similar to her father who would pass away in 1943 after his struggle with illness.[347] Barraine negatively experienced more than just the constraints of the Occupation and

[344] "[Je] serai même reconnaissante de laver des pots de chambre… Pour moi, ça ne change rien à ce que je pense d'eux. Simplement, je ne m'en fais plus et accepte tout, sans vergogne. Fais donc comme moi." Letter Elsa Barraine to Louis Saguer, August 1941, BnF, VM BOB-28705, accessed 2 June 2016.
[345] Letter Elsa Barraine to Louis Saguer, December 1941, BnF, VM BOB-28705, accessed 2 June 2016.
[346] Letters Elsa Barraine to Louis Saguer, 8 December 1941 and 16 January 1943, BnF, VM BOB-28705, accessed 2 June 2016.
[347] Hamer, "Beyond Neoclassicism," 137.

her struggle to work; her position as the head of the FNM also brought on many burdens that affected her mental well-being. For instance, Barraine was regularly updated on which composers and musicians—many of whom were her friends in some capacity—were deported, arrested, or executed by the Nazis. She reported these occurrences to Saguer as she learned of them. Some of these individuals included composer Maurice Jaubert, who died in combat during the German Blitz on June 19, 1940; composer Maurice Thiriet, who was imprisoned in November 1940; and a musician Barraine simply refers to as "Henry" who was killed in 1942.[348] Other times, Barraine voiced her concern over people she has not heard from for a while. For example, although she always indicated when she has the opportunity to speak with or visit Honegger, she was incredibly anxious during long stretches of silence; one time she did not see Honegger for as long as eight months.[349] These letters also demonstrated the very close relationship that she, Saguer, and Désormière had with one another. Barraine reported on the statuses of Désormière's aunt and mother, both of whom became ill in 1942. She always asked after Saguer's friend Kurt Wilhelm, a Jewish art critic that was in hiding along with Saguer in the free zone. At the end of her letters, she often asked Saguer to kiss him for her.

And so, these letters established Barraine as a very sympathetic person, who cared not only for her friends but also the other people in their lives. It was more than just a passing concern for their well-being—in many ways, Barraine was overly empathetic, feeling as worried and anxious

[348] Barraine did not learn about Jaubert's death until November 1940. Although it is unclear if Thiriet participated in resistance efforts, he acted as a front for Jewish composer Joseph Kosma for the movies *Les visiteurs du soir* (1942) and *Les enfants du paradis* (1945). Mark Brill, "Jaubert, Maurice" and "Thiriet, Maurice," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2001, accessed 26 March 2018, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000014203, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027851.

[349] Letter Elsa Barraine to Louis Saguer, December 1942, BnF, VM BOB-28705, accessed 2 June 2016.

for the well-being of her friend's families as if they were her own and adding to the stress that she already suffered due to her other responsibilities. Additionally, because of Barraine's work in the resistance, she was wanted by the authorities for being a suspected resistance agent. In 1942 Barraine was arrested by the Vichy militia, and although she was released the Gestapo attempted to track her down again in 1944.[350] As a result, Barraine was forced to go underground herself, relinquishing her resistance activities fully to Louis Durey.[351] This is why there is a large gap in letters from April 1943 when Barraine procured Saguer's falsified documents to April 1944.[352]

All of these concerns, however, paled in comparison to how she wrote about Saguer specifically. Barraine was particularly worried about Saguer's well-being and happiness. She assisted him in practical matters, such as coordinating the shipment of his belongings to the southern zone during the first year of occupation, sending him money and care packages, including a pair of pink socks that she knitted. Barraine concluded each letter by begging Saguer to write her back, both comically (such as writing in all capital letters and underlined several times "WRITE") and desperately. She likely wrote to Saguer more than he replied, as many of Barraine's letters and postcards are closely dated, sometimes within only one day. This was especially true of the year 1941, in which Barraine sent thirty-six letters total. Some examples of closely dated letters are April 3 and 5, May 23, 24, and 26, and June 17 and 18. Perhaps Barraine had more time to write since she would not become too involved in the resistance until later that year, but she would continue such habits in the years following.

[350] Hamer, "Paul Dukas's Female Composition Students," 129.
[351] Le Bail, 180.
[352] Fulcher discusses this year in her new text *Renegotiating French Identity* and claims that Barraine decided on complete neutrality and left France in 1943, leaving responsibilities to Durey then. I have not found any supporting evidence of this in either of the scholarship Fulcher cites, nor in the letters. In 1943 it looks like Bararine was planning on leaving Paris to go to the south, but it is not likely she ever left and she certainly does not indicate that she did in later letters. I will defer instead to Le Bail's scholarship and Germain-David's account in Barraine's biography.

Barraine used the process of writing to help her understand her daily experience of occupation, and perhaps even distract herself from the realities of it. She admitted to as much in a letter dated October 26, 1942. Bararine informed Saguer that she reads his letters over and over again, and she sadly explained to Saguer that, "I am so overly withdrawn from music that it is necessary that you must have the idea that I have become another Elsa, for whom any music of any kind, even that which the old Elsa once loved passionately, has as much effect as a poultice on a wooden leg."[353] As years under occupation progressed, Barraine's letters became increasingly fantastical and escapist. Several times she tried to make plans to visit Saguer and often commented about how he was more "free" in comparison to her, even though the southern zone would eventually become enveloped the occupied zone. At the start of 1942, there was a possibility that she would leave Paris for Vichy for a voice teacher position that Désormière found for her, just as her employment with Delannoy was ending. Hoping for a respite from the Occupation, she talked about it for four months, but nothing ever came of it.

Despite her efforts in resistance activities, Barraine constantly wrote about her desire to simply escape the Occupied zone. While she would be able to continue her resistance work in Vichy, she did not indicate that she would intend to do so. Regardless, Barraine remained in Paris where she became more alienated, especially as she went more and more underground. Even though it is clear in her entire correspondence that she regularly contacted and physically met with other people in Paris, Barraine seemed to crave only Saguer's attention. This is evident in a March 1, 1943 letter, as she wished that she could hold even five minutes of Saguer's gaze and lamented

[353] "[Je] suis si démesurément retiré de la musique qu'il faut presque te mettre dans l'idée que je suis devenu une autre [Elsa], à laquelle toute musique de toute sorte, même celle que l'ancienne [Elsa] aimait passionnément jadis, fait autant d'effet qu'un cautère sur une jambe de bois." Letter Elsa Barraine to Louis Saguer, 26 Oct. 1942, BnF, VM BOB-28705, accessed 2 June 2016.

that her only options in Paris are famine, extermination, deportation, or bombardment.[354] The following letter she wrote to Saguer was in a similar vein, but she never sent it to him. Instead, in the next letter he did receive, Barraine wrote:

> "I had written you a long and dark and stupid (and delirious) letter and then I was ashamed and tore it up, believing that it seemed wrong of me to complain. If we can see each other, everything will be ironed out, all clear and easy. The 'images' that we have made of each other are sweet and light and will guide us until the true Life begins… For this moment, I bet you, you will be disappointed, because I am unfortunately, neither precise nor anything of how you see me. As for you, you have literally passed to the state of myth!"[355]

As with any long-distance relationship, Barraine realized that they mythicized each other and fears that when they meet again, Saguer would be disappointed in who she had become.

[354] Letter Elsa Barraine to Louis Saguer, 1 March 1943, BnF, VM BOB-28705, accessed 2 June 2016.
[355] "Je t'avais écrit une longue et noire et stupide (et délirante) lettre et puis j'ai en honte et je l'ai déchirée, paru que c'était mal à moi de me plaindre et de qe'nui [sic]. Si nous pouvons nous voir tout sera aplani, tout clair et facile. Les "images" que nous nous sommes faites l'un de l'autre sont douces et nous éclaireront jusqu'à ce que la vraie Vie commence… Pour l'instant, je parie que toi, tu seras déçu, car je ne suis hélas, ni précise, ni rien de tout ce que tu me vois. Quant à toi, tu es littéralement passé à l'état de mythe!" Letter Elsa Barraine to Louis Saguer, March 1943, BnF, VM BOB-28705, accessed 28 June 2017.

### 5.3 Understanding Trauma through Art

Barraine clearly described in these letters the trauma that she and many others experienced under the Occupation. Sociologist Jeffrey C. Alexander describes cultural trauma as a process that "occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future in fundamental and irrevocable ways."[356] The Occupation inflicted a trauma on France that completely disrupted one's understanding of one's own identity and subjectivity. A traumatic event, such as that of the Nazi-Occupation, is then a reference point that people must reconstruct their identities around. This reference point is, for sociologist Neil Smelser, "a *memory*… that is laden with negative affect," such as disgust, shame, or guilt, and it "[threatens] a society's existence."[357] The Occupation acts as a constant reminder of his shame, affecting an individual in the moment and long after. As Ronald C. Rosbottom states, long after the occupier left the city "[Paris] has yet to be 'liberated' totally from the Occupation," even to this day.[358]

Philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre spoke to this experience in his essay "Paris Under Occupation," which appeared in the November 1944 edition of *La France libre*. Sartre claimed that it was not necessarily the presence of German soldiers roaming the streets that struck fear in the hearts of the Parisians, but that which they could not see—the faceless enemy. The enemy was the telephone call that rings endlessly with no answer; the evidence of German cigarette butts in

[356] Jeffrey C. Alexander, et. al., *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 1.
[357] Ibid., 61-62.
[358] Rosbottom, 382.

an otherwise empty house; the knocking at the door at midnight. Sartre described the effect of the Occupation on Parisians that echoes Barraine's language in her letters:

> "Some crazy people, it is said, are haunted by the feeling that an awful event has overturned their lives. And when they want to understand what has given them this strong impression of a rupture between their past and present, they find nothing; there is no event. This is more or less our situation."[359]

This is why narratives surrounding the Résistance were so important in dealing with the cultural trauma of the Occupation, as it provided individuals with a sense of agency in their situation. However, the Résistance was not a sufficient enough bandage to heal the wound inflicted on the occupied. Henry Barraud spoke to as much in his essay "Music and Resistance," confessing he did not believe that the FNM offered anything of value to the overall mission of the French Résistance.[360] Sartre was a much harsher critic, as he doubted that even the armed Résistance made any contribution at all because he believed that a British victory was always a foregone conclusion.[361] He also believed that the only good that the Résistance provided people was a means of escaping the mental constraints of the Occupation. To outsiders, Barraine stopped composing to join the Résistance, but it seems that the harsh gravity of the Occupation influenced her own opinion of music as resistance. For how could anyone compose under such circumstances?

Although she never fully stopped engaging with music, the one well-known composition that Barraine created near the end of the Occupation was *Avis* for chorus and orchestra. This work

359 Jean-Paul Sartre, "Paris Under the Occupation," translated by Lisa Lieberman, *Raritan* (Winter 2005): 142.
360 Henry Barraud, "Musique et Résistance," *Counterpoints* no. 1 (January 1946).
361 Sartre, 146.

set Paul Éluard's 1943 poem of the same title. Éluard composed the poem in honor of his pupil Lucien Legros, who was arrested for his work in the Résistance and executed in February 1943.[362] "Avis," meaning "Notice," refers to posted lists of French hostages held by the Germans.[363] Barraine dedicated the 1945 edition for voice and piano to Georges Dudach, who also worked for the Résistance as an editor and courier of underground newspapers, including *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*. As Barraine was deeply involved in the material that would be printed in the FNM's underground newspaper, she held a direct relationship to Dudach on such matters.[364] In March 1942, Dudach and his wife, Charlotte Delbo, were arrested by the French police and handed over to the Gestapo; two months later Dudach was executed by firing squad and Delbo was shipped to Auschwitz.[365]

Barraine's composition reflects the gravity of Dudach and Legros's sacrifice by keeping the chorus unified with a monophonic melody. This monophony then produces the effect of solemn cantillation, which is the speech-like musical chanting of sacred texts and prayers performed in the liturgical contexts of Jewish synagogues or Latin Catholic masses.[366] As musicologist Laura Hamer points out in her recent article on the composer, Barraine was interested in exploring the spirituality of many cultures in her music. Of course, as she was Jewish on her father's side and Catholic on her mother's, Barraine created a significant body of works that honored both of these

[362] "Dossier Concours National de la Résistance et de la Déportation 2015-2016: Résister par l'art et la Littérature," Center d'Histoire de la Résistance et de la Déportation, 2016, accessed September 2018, 20, http://www.chrd.lyon.fr/static/chrd/contenu/pdf/pedago/CNRD/CHRD_CNRD_2015.pdf.
[363] Sprout, 56.
[364] Hamer, "Beyond Neoclassicism," 137.
[365] Lawrence L. Langer, "Introduction," in *Auschwitz and After*, 2nd ed., Charlotte Delbo, translated by Rosette C. Lamont (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), xvi.
[366] George Chew, "Cantillation," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 20 Jan. 2001, accessed 12 December 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.pitt.idm.oclc.org/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000004775.

religions.[367] The piano accompaniment adds to the severity of the monophonic chant by sustaining a German sixth in f minor while pulsing an octave F in the lowest register on the piano, as if performing a funeral march or service (Figure 14). The presence of a German sixth underneath of the sacred chant topos should appear as a purposeful choice on the part of the composer. The German sixth chord is sustained for fifteen slow and torturous measures, a full third of the composition which is only forty-five measures long.

**Figure 14. Elsa Barraine, *Avis*, Measures 1-4**

This may be hermeneutically interpreted many ways. The persistence of the German sixth could represent the dreadfully long period of Occupation that for Barraine in 1944 felt as if it would not ever come to end. However, a significant clue can be found in the original cover art of the 1945 musical score (Figure 15). The hand-drawn cover depicts a young man sitting in a jail cell at nighttime and staring out the bars of the window. The artistic style is reminiscent to the expressionist drawings of the members of FNM’s sister organization the Front national des arts (formerly the Front national des peintres et sculpteurs), as exemplified in its collection

367 Hamer, “Beyond Neoclassicism,” 126-127.

*Vaincre: Témoignages des peintres français*. Featuring artists such as Jean Aujame, André Fourgeron, Édouard Georg, and Édouard Pignon, *Vaincre* contains black and white sketches in the mediums of pen, pencil, and charcoal that depict horrific scenes of Nazis torturing Jewish prisoners. Such a sketch graced the title page of le Front national des arts' November 1942 edition of *L'Art français*. The cover of the underground newspaper depicts an outline of the Arc de Triomphe with a flame rising from the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The inside of the arch doubles as the outline of a tombstone, which reads, "Repose un soldat français mort pour la patrie." Likewise, the cover art for *Avis* depicts the resistance soldier awaiting his execution, as described in Éluard's poem.

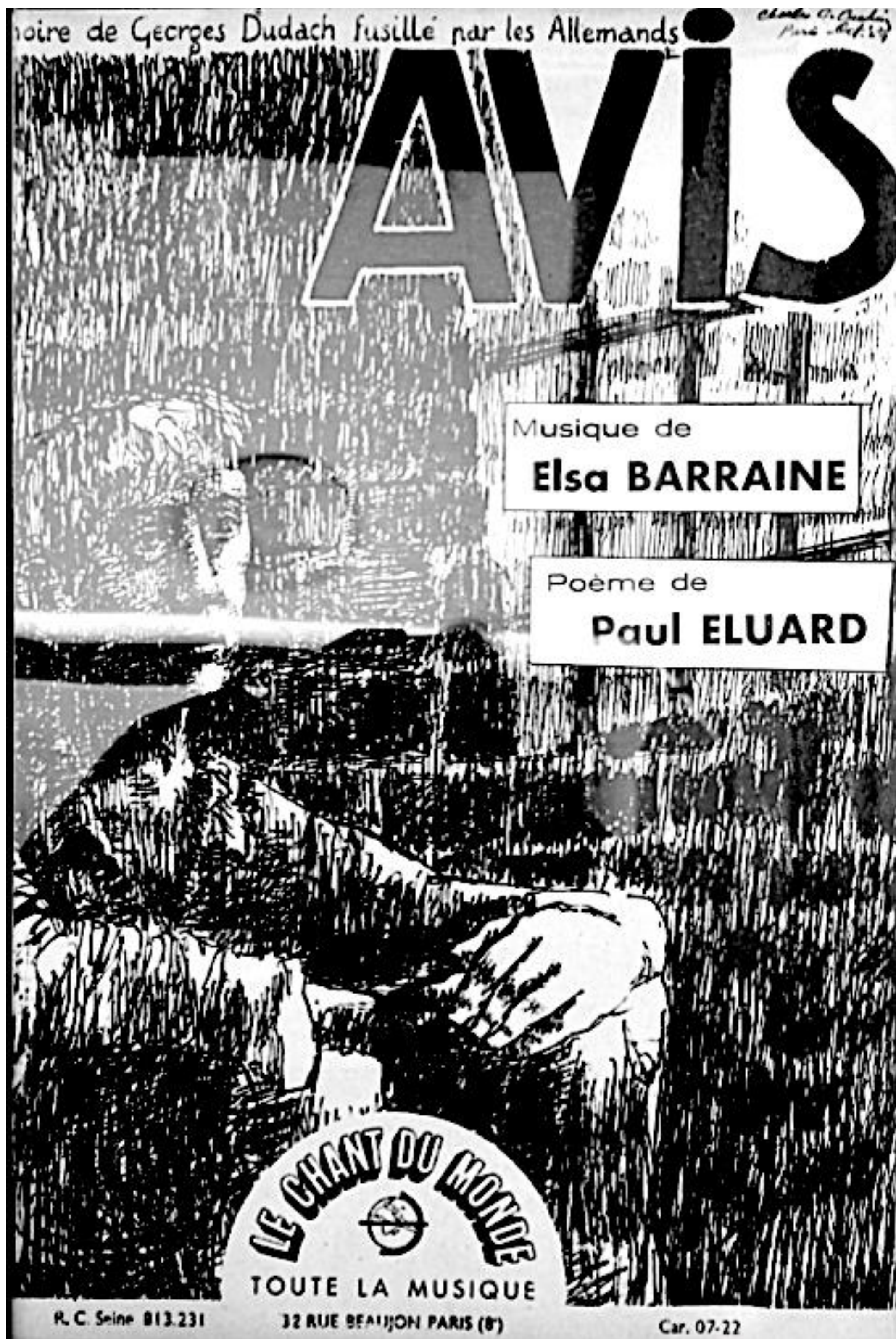


**Figure 15. Cover for Avis, Elsa Barraine, 1945 Choir and Piano Edition. Courtesy of the University of California Berkeley Library**

*Avis*- Paul Éluard

| | |
|---|---|
| La nuit qui précéda sa mort | The night that proceeds his death |
| Fut la plus courte de sa vie | Was the shortest of his life |
| L'idée qu'il existait encore | The idea that he still existed |
| Lui brûlait le sang aux poignets | Boiled the blood in his wrists |
| Le poids de son corps l'écœurait | The weight of his body disgusted him |
| Sa force le faisait gémir | His strength made him wail |
| C'est tout au fond de cette horreur | It is at the bottom of this horror |
| Qu'il a commencé à sourire | That he started to smile |
| Il n'avait pas UN camarade | He does not have a comrade |
| Mais des millions et des millions | But millions and millions |
| Pour le venger il le savait | That he knew would avenge him |
| Et le jour se leva pour lui | And even the day rose for him |



**Figure 16. Elsa Barraine, *Avis*, Measures 25-28**

Although the opening may seem atonal, as the note clusters played in the piano's upper register gives the composition an otherworldly ambiance, *Avis* is quite rooted in tonality. The whole work adheres to the traditional tonal arch, where the final cadence reveals f minor as the tonal center after moving briefly through A flat major in the middle section. Following the cantillation topos, the melodic line continuously returns to F in each sung line for the first section. The chorus ascends an interval higher from the bass note F on every other syllable when singing the line "Il n'avait pas UN camarade" (Figure 16). This line reaches its peak an octave higher on the word "millions" and again on "savait." By remaining monophonic, the chorus suggests that the

Résistance is comprised of not one but many individuals who are committed to solidarity, just as Pierre Villon believed the Front national embodied.[368]

It is the bridge between the middle section in Ab major and the coda that contains a more overt audible connection to the Résistance. After the chorus sings "savait" the piano has a short solo. There is a rhythmic shift from the pulsing eighth notes that the chorus had been singing to a militaristic dotted rhythm reminiscent of traditional French overtures. Dotted rhythms had essentially become synonymous with French nationalistic music by Barraine's time; the national anthem *La Marseillaise* (Figure 17) and the French revanchist song *Vous n'aurez pas l'Alsace et la Lorraine* (Figure 18) are prime examples of this tradition. By making such a musical gesture, Barraine follows in the tradition of other Résistance members who either reference or directly quote contraband pieces of music. Famous examples include Francis Poulenc's overt reference of *Vous n'aurez pas l'Alsace et la Lorraine* in his ballet *Les Animaux modèles* (1942) and Georges Auric's quotation of *La Marseillaise* in the fourth song of *Quatre Chants de la France malheureuse* (1943).[369]

**Figure 17. *La Marseillaise***

[368] Le Bail, 180.
[369] Simeone, "Making Music in Occupied Paris," 349-350.

**Figure 18.** ***Vous n'aurez pas l'Alsace et la Lorraine***

Considering the pervasiveness of the dotted figure in French national and military music, one could argue that the piano solo near the end also addresses the Résistance directly by referencing its unofficial anthem, *Le Chant des partisans*, which I discussed in detail in chapter 1. Composed by Russian-French singer Anna Marly in 1941, *Le Chant des partisans* is quite simple and consists of two short repeating phrases (Figure 19, transposed to Ab major for this comparison), which made it quite easy to learn and remember. Barraine's gesture to *Le Chant des partisans* is significant because it is the first time in *Avis* that she evokes the dotted militaristic figure. As can be seen in the piano solo in Figure 20, Barraine's melody in the piano solo follows the general contour of the melody from *Le Chant des partisans*. There are two discernable segments of the piano melody, part one spanning from measures 34 to 37 and part two from measures 38 to 40. While this is by no means a perfect quotation, listeners of *Avis*, especially those involved with the resistant fight, may understand the symbolism attached to the piano solo. It was a tradition of the Résistance fighters to sing the tune whenever a soldier either died in combat or was executed.[370] The piano solo at the end of the composition, then, indicates the execution of the soldier in Éluard's poem.

With these references to *Le Chant des partisans* and other contraband works of music, Barraine directly communicates with members of the Résistance. As a result, this composition has fairly been interpreted as a patriotic call to arms and a statement of unity for the Résistance.

[370] "Le Chant des partisans."

Barraine presumably composed *Avis* in May 1944, three months before the Libération. At this point, German authorities were searching for Barraine for her resistance work, and so she used the pseudonym "Catherine Bonnard" on this composition to protect her identity.[371] Barraine had no way of knowing if this work would ever have an audience, and because Barraine's letters stopped for a period in April 1944 she did not discuss the work with Saguer. The use of the pseudonym does indicate she intended for it to be performed, and it probably would have appeared in a concert the FNM was planning to program in 1944 showcasing compositions that set the works of resistance poets. Such a concert was held after the Libération on September 17, 1944, in which *Avis* was programmed along with other resistance works.[372]

**Figure 19. Anna Marly, *Le Chant des partisans*, Melody Only and Transposed to Ab Major**

[371] Germain-David, "Repères biographiques," 19.
[372] Ibid.

**Figure 20. Elsa Barraine, *Avis*, Measures 34-40**

So while the piece may be easily interpreted to represent the Résistance, the ending of the composition escapes such exegesis. The chorus ends as it began by chanting the initial note F while repeating "Et le jour se leva pour lui" two times. This particular lyric contains a dual meaning. The statement is reflexive, translating to "And even the day rose for him." This is a very positive and empowering statement that this resistance fighter in the poem has the support of millions of people in his effort to liberate France, and the rising sun acts as a symbol of hope in the new day. At the same time, he knows, as does the reader or audience, what also comes in the morning—his execution. Ironically, as the new day rises in the form of the opening note clusters it indicates the soldier's death. This is the final sentiment that Barraine takes in the composition, as the chorus slowly but firmly pronounces this line on the initial note F; likewise, the piano accompaniment returns to the opening figures and dissipates the note clusters into the higher octaves. As there is

no resolution, it is difficult to determine if this ending is hopeful or not. It is up to the listener to determine this, based on their own experiences and understandings of the Occupation.

### 5.4 Conclusion: Rethinking Music and Resistance

*Avis* was not the first time that Barraine wrote a politically charged composition. As a resident of the Villa Medici, the prize for winning the Prix de Rome, Barraine witnessed the initial rise in fascism and anti-Semitism in the early 1930s. In her composition *Pogromes* (1933) and her Second Symphony "Voïna" ("The War," 1938) Barraine confronted her anxieties of the coming war through the vehicle of music. This is especially true of the Second Symphony, which contains three movements that, according to Raffi Ourgandjian (a former student of Barraine's), represents "war, death, and then the end of the nightmare."[373] Barraine could not have known, though, that the end of the nightmare would not come until six years later. As much as she struggled with her relationship to music, Barraine's politics always influenced her music and her music influenced her politics. Thus, the alienation, anxiety, and fear created by the madness of occupation brings new light to Barraine's composition. In dedicating *Avis* to Dudach, Barraine reimagined herself in the abject horror of the freedom fighter's final day on earth. As her letters demonstrated, Barraine did what she had to do to survive, even in understanding that life as she knew it could end with a bomb, a bullet, starvation, or the gas chamber. This was certainly the reality for 73,154 French citizens who never returned from German concentration camps.[374]

[373] Hamer, 129, 131.
[374] Lloyd, 23-24.

But to say the composition of *Avis* was a cathartic act is an over-simplification. Author Maggie Nelson expounds in her text *The Art of Cruelty* that artists who not only meet the abject but embrace it, such as the poetry of Sylvia Plath or the paintings of Kara Walker, are more equipped to understand and endure their relationship with trauma. She states, "[The] peeling away of psychology from sensation occasions a certain sort of pain—the pain of extinguishing the story behind the suffering, and of contending directly with the sensation of suffering itself."[375] By coming to know the various painful imprisonments that people find themselves in, one diminishes the power of that pain. However, Nelson warns against making too much of a home inside pain and trauma—Plath, for example, did commit suicide. In any case, Nelson posits that through artistic creation people in oppressive environments can recognize a sort of agency over their situation in the world.

The resistance fighter in Éluard's poem smiles in the face of death. To create art despite the threat of annihilation is to meet this annihilation on one's own terms, to grant oneself a sense of autonomy in the seemingly helpless endeavor or opposition. Barraine, despite everything, was not completely hopeless. For all Barraine complained about her misery under occupation, her letters to Saguer frequently displayed moments of hope. She hoped relentlessly for good news, for employment, for the well-being of her friends and loved ones, for a release from the dark and quiet confines of Paris. Saguer himself became Barraine's symbol of hope for the end of the Occupation. These letters, along with the composition *Avis*, are her means of understanding occupation on her terms and refusing its engulfing nature.

[375] This text was recommended me by a colleague in a Julia Kristeva course. Maggie Nelson, *The Art of Cruelty: A Reckoning* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2011), 62, 249.

This chapter is perhaps the most emotional and private example of how music is used for resistance and as resistance. Barraine's active role in the Résistance affected her life just as her life informed her work with the Résistance, expressed through her personal narratives of life under occupation and her utilization of music as resistance. As much as Barraine struggled with her relationship to composing, music saved her life. No matter the toll that the constraints of Occupation took on her, and no matter how much she wanted to, Barraine never gave up. In a similar vein to Foucault's "care of self," Barraine not only refused to succumb to the realities of the Occupation, but she imagined a hopeful future for her and her loved ones outside of its terror. Hope sings through her letters, just as the message of collective resistance resonates in her composition *Avis*. Elsa Barraine and many other Jewish composers and musicians lived and breathed resistance because they had no other choice in the face of totalitarianism. These individuals negotiated every day the cultural trauma they have experienced in the past, present, and future.

## 6.0 Conclusion

The narratives of resistance that I have highlighted in this project demonstrate that music is a versatile tool that people use in their everyday lived experiences to make sense of the world around them. This extends from how resistance organizations employed music tactically to mobilize audiences and sway public opinion towards that of the French Résistance, to how audiences interpreted these messages and use it to explain the constraints they found themselves under. Individuals engage with music at their subjective level and, when necessary, uses the music that they listen to, perform, or compose to make sense of the world around them. This rings true in the case study of the Occupation of Paris, where, despite being a "silent city" in this dark period, seemed to overly resound with music, whether through the radio, on the stage, or in the hearts and minds of the people who were trapped there.

Several conclusions emerged from the topics that I explored throughout these chapters. First, that tactical decisions resistance organizations and members made during the Occupation do not operate rationally or irrationally, as organizations continued to use tactics that did not necessarily achieve the goals that were set out. In the case of the British Broadcasting Company from Chapter 1, the main purpose of Radio Londres was to encourage listeners to take up arms and join the Résistance. Similarly, in Chapter 3, the organization Front national des musiciens (FNM) sought to encourage readers of its underground newspaper *Musicien d'aujourd'hui* to join the organization and refuse any form of collaboration with the state and the invading regime. However, both of these groups ultimately failed in accomplishing their goals; listeners of Radio Londres did not fight Nazis and the FNM only grew minutely in membership in the duration of its operation, and its members collaborated in a variety of degrees with the state.

However, through music, the individuals in these case studies demonstrated that resistance is not just an activity but a mode of being. Although the audiences who tuned in to Radio Londres every night did not join the French Résistance forces, they did subvert the will of the Occupiers by listening to illegal radio in their homes and actively participating in civil resistance. And although members of the FNM did collaborate in some ways, these members were also in prime positions to help and protect more vulnerable French musicians. This duality of resistance modes can most aptly be seen in the lived experiences of Pierre Schaeffer (Chapter 2) and Elsa Barraine (Chapter 4), both of who could not separate their politics from their art. These two individuals had a public face in which they enacted a variety of resistance acts, whether through the transformation of the state-funded Studio d'Essai into a center of radio resistance or by directing the actions and tactics of the FNM to expose the propaganda of German music. Privately, however, both Schaeffer and Barraine had their own beliefs and struggles and used their art to survive occupation, inevitably influencing their resistance work in the process. Music also follows this duplicity and was employed by the individuals of this study for and as resistance.

I understand that this conclusion may be an optimistic one, and I had been told as such by some people that I have shared my study with. However, I do think that in the face of adversity one has to be optimistic. There was never a moment that any of the individuals discussed in these chapters believed that their endeavor was hopeless, even if they could not exactly envision what their future looked like. While Barraine may have been the closest to allowing her depression devour her spirit, her letters to Louis Saguer were still filled with hope that the Occupation—and her torment—would come to an end. In all of these narratives, music acted as the way these individuals could explore imagined futures and express their hope and solidarity with other people

around France. It is this inextinguishable hope, this light in the darkness, in which resistance could manifest.

The last two years I have spent writing this dissertation have been a very trying time in the history of our nation and across the world. Although I am hesitant to make any direct correlations from World War II to our current political climate, it is hard to deny the similarities. Many people blame minorities and express anti-immigrant and refugee sentiments as a way to explain the economic disparity and political corruption that citizens experience in many countries. This has resulted in the rise of hate crimes and political policies targeting particular groups of people, specifically against people from South American countries and people who are Muslim. As a result of the fear surrounding these groups that are espoused by politicians, far-right groups have seen their support grow in recent years; the anti-immigrant Alternative for Germany is currently the second most popular political party in the country, and France's National Front (no relation to the one discussed in this study) is currently the third most powerful party.[376]

In tandem with support for groups such as these is the rise in anti-Semitic sentiment and activity in recent years. Recent studies of anti-Semitism demonstrate the anxieties surrounding this mounting sentiment. In 2018 the European Union's Fundamental Rights Agency conducted a study addressing more than 16,000 Jewish people and found that 90% of respondents felt anti-Semitism was growing in their country; around 80% of respondents no longer reported minor incidents as they felt this was the new normal. Similarly, CNN surveyed 7,000 people and found that not only did a fifth of them believe that "Jewish people too much influence in finance and politics," a typical

[376] Gretchen Frazee, "What the New Zealand shootings tell us about the rise in hate crimes," *PBS News Hour*, *PBS.org*, 15 March 2019, accessed 18 March 2019, https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/what-the-new-zealand-shootings-tell-us-about-the-rise-in-hate-crimes; "Le Front National," *Religious Literacy Project*, Harvard Divinity School, accessed 18 March 2019, https://rlp.hds.harvard.edu/faq/le-front-national.

anti-Semitic trope, and that one in ten Europeans held an "unfavorable attitude" towards Jews. France alone has reported a 74% rise in offenses against Jews.[377]

Unfortunately, the United States is not isolated from these recent trends. Many people were horrified when in late 2017 white neo-Nazis marched the streets of Charlottesville while carrying torches reminiscent of the Ku Klux Klan and chanting anti-Semitic phrases like, "Blood and Soil" and "You will not replace us."[378] However, in February 2018 the Anti-Defamation League showed that anti-Semitic incidents escalated by nearly 60% higher from 2016 to 2017, representing the organization's largest single-year increase on record. This has culminated in the deadliest anti-Semitic attack on American soil to ever occur, when a man opened fire in the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh during a baby-naming ceremony on Shabbat, right down the street from the University of Pittsburgh's Music Department.[379] Eleven innocent lives were taken as a result of this hatred.[380] To this day I am grateful that people that I care about were spared.

These figures and events are absolutely alarming. I had put off writing this conclusion for as long as I could as I have struggled to make sense of these tragedies and the hatred that so many people seem to hold in their hearts, so much that they feel compelled to take a gun to end someone else's life early. And worst, that they and many others feel justified in doing so. It is astounding to me that even after the horrors of the Holocaust, which had resulted in the murder of six million

[377] Jon Henley, "Antisemitism rising sharply across Europe, latest figures show," *The Guardian*, 15 February 2019, accessed 19 March 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/feb/15/antisemitism-rising-sharply-across-europe-latest-figures-show.
[378] Matt Stevens, "White Nationalists Reappear in Charlottesville in Torch-lit Protest," *New York Times*, 8 Oct. 2017, accessed 13 Dec. 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/08/us/richard-spencer-charlottesville.html.
[379] Jennifer Rubin, "American Anti-Semitism: It's getting worse," *The Washington Post*, 27 October 2018, accessed 19 March 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/opinions/wp/2018/10/27/american-anti-semitism-its-getting-worse/?utm_term=.85bcad8a52b4.
[380] Kalhan Rosenblatt et. al., "11 dead in shooting at Pittsburgh synagogue, suspect in custody," *NBCnews.com*, 27 October 2018, accessed 19 March 2019, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/active-shooter-reported-near-pittsburgh-synagogue-n925211.

Jews and thousands of other lives, so many people still harbor the same hatred. Anti-Semitism is on the rise once again.

While American politicians since the 2016 election have insisted that such demonstrations of hatred should not become the "new normal," the rise in hate crimes only demonstrates that for many minorities this has always been "the normal." The trendy slogan "resist" that politicians like to use misses the fact that this is a reality that many minorities—Jewish, Muslim, Hispanic, immigrant, refugee, black, and more—experience each and every day. Resistance is the refusal to be eradicated. Resistance is survival. My case study focusing on the Occupation of Paris demonstrates the many ways that individuals engage in resistance in a way to understand the atrocities committed against them and to fight back against the oppression they endure. This fight endures to this day. This, for many, is resistance.

## Appendix A Archival Materials

The following are the archival material I have consulted for this project, including updated reference numbers and the date I accessed each item.

**Table 1 List of French archives and primary sources**

| Archive | Location | File | Reference No. | Name | Date of Item | Description | Access date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Archives Nationales | Salle des inventaires virtuelle | BBC,II/ "Souvenirs de la radio britannique, 1940…" | 72AJ/226, Dossier 2 | "L'Armistice" "Les Journaux" "Radio Paris" | 1940 | Songs | 11 October 2017 |
| Archives Nationales | Salle des inventaires virtuelle | Section spéciale de la cour d'appel de Paris (1941-1944) | Z/4/144, Dossier 526, Scellé 18 | Scellé constitué par le commissariat de police de Puteaux: documents saisis au domicile de l'inculpé. | 1942 | Police Report | 22 September 2018 |
| Bibliothèque nationale de France | Music Department | N/A | VMC-231 | "Musique et Résistance" by Henri Barraud | January 1946 | Article in *Countrepoints* no. 1 | 28 June 2017 |
| Bibliothèque nationale de France | Music Department | N/A | VM BOB-28705 | Lettres Elsa Barraine à Louis Saguer | 1940-1944 | 82 letters and postcards | 2 June 2016 |
| Bibliothèque nationale de France | Music Department | N/A | VM BOB-19951 | Lettre Henri Büsser à Marie Böellman | 1 August 1941 | Letter | 27 June 2017 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bibliothèque nationale de France | Music Department | N/A | VM BOB-35940 | "She Ceased Composing to Aid Resistance" | N/A | Article in New *Chronicle* | 3 June 2016 |
| Bibliothèque nationale de France | Music Department | N/A | VM DOS-14 (1 A 3) | Trois dossiers de documents relatifs à Francis Poulenc constitués par André Lecoeur: coupures de presse, articles, programmes. | 1940-1944 | Programs, articles, and music journals pertaining to Francis Poulenc | 8 June 2016 |
| Bibliothèque nationale de France | Gallica Digital Archives | N/A | RES-G-1470 http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k8789925/ | *L'Université libre*, no special | September-October 1940 | Underground newspaper | 30 May 2016 |
| Institut mémoires de l'édition contemporaine | Pierre Schaeffer Archives | N/A | 129.1278 | Biographies of Resistance Members | N/A, est. 1945 | Biographies of Resistance members associated with Studio d'Essai | 15 June 2017 |
| Institut mémoires de l'édition contemporaine | Pierre Schaeffer Archives | N/A | 193.878 | "Broadcast 27 April 1945" | April 1945 | Booklet of a commemorative broadcast of the Libération | 13 June 2017 |
| Institut mémoires de l'édition contemporaine | Pierre Schaeffer Archives | N/A | Dossier 737-Z | "Les Émissions de radio en region Île-de-France: Le Studio d'Essai" by Pierre Arnaud Chassy-Poulay | N/A | Article in *Cahiers d'Histoire de la Radiodiffusion* | 14 June 2017 |
| Institut mémoires de l'édition contemporaine | Pierre Schaeffer Archives | N/A | 129.1281 | Note pour M. Marc | 1 June 1944 | Letter | 15 June 2017 |
| Institut mémoires de l'édition contemporaine | Pierre Schaeffer Archives | N/A | 193.878 | Note sur le Studio d'Essai | 6 July 1943 | Letter | 13 June 2017 |
| Institut mémoires de l'édition contemporaine | Pierre Schaeffer Archives | N/A | 129.1280 | Préparation d'une documentation sonore pour l'Amerique | 13 November 1944 | Official Letter | 16 June 2017 |

| Institut mémoires de l'édition contemporaine | Pierre Schaeffer Archives | N/A | 193.878 | Studio d'Essai Programme 1943 | July 1943 | Program/Report | 13 June 2017 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Musée de la Résistance nationale | N/A | Fonds René Roussel | N/A | "L'art n'a pas de patrie?" | N/A | Handwritten article, most likely by Elsa Barraine | 1 June 2016 |
| Musée de la Résistance nationale | N/A | Fonds Presse clandestine | N/A | Musiciens d'aujourd'hui, No. 3-8 | 1941-1944 | Underground Newspapers | 1 June 2016 |
| Musée de la Résistance nationale | N/A | Fonds Pierre Villon | N/A | Musiciens: Mars 1943-1944 | 1944 | Handwritten Report | 1 June 2016 |
| Musée de la Résistance nationale | N/A | Fonds Pierre Villon | N/A | "Pour Elsa" | N/A | Letter written by Pierre Villon to Elsa Barraine | 1 June 2016 |
| Assumption College | Emmanuel d'Alzon Library | N/A | D802.F8 M67 | *Resistance France 1940-1943* by André Morize | 1944 | Report to the France Forever Boston Chapter, translated by Helen J. Heubener | October 2018 |

## Appendix B Plan des 100 heures Program

Insitut memoire de l’édition contemporaine. Pierre Schaeffer Archives. 129.1281. Accessed 15 June 2017.

**Table 2 Timetable for Plan des 100 heures**

| Time | Information | Records | Music | Spoken | Variety |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6:30 am News | 10’ | | | | |
| 6:40 am Editorial | 5’ | | | | |
| 6:45 am Records | | 15’ | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 7:00 am News | 10’ | | | | |
| 7:10 am Advice | 10’ | | | | |
| 7:20 am Records | | 10’ | | | |
| 7:30 am News | 10’ | | | | |
| 7:40 am Records | | 20’ | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 8:00 am News | 10’ | | | | |
| 8:10 am Slow Music | | 50’ | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 9:00 am News | 10’ | | | | |
| 9:10 am National Education | | | | 50’ (L) | |
| | | | | | |
| 10:00 am News | 10’ | | | | |
| 10:10 am Symphonic music | | 50’ | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 11:00 am News | 10’ | | | | |
| 11:10 am Selections- Operas, Comic Operas, and Operettas | | 50’ | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 12:00 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 12:10 pm Reports | 10’ | | | | |
| 12:20 pm “Rhythm of another time” | | | | | 10’ (Humor) |
| 12:30 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 12:40 pm Editorial | 20’ | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 1:00 pm News | 10’ | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1:10 pm Orchestra | | | 20’ (Slow) | | |
| 1:30 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 1:40 pm Orchestra | | | 20’ (Slow) | | |
| | | | | | |
| 2:00 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 2:10 pm Variety | | | | | 50’ (Variety) |
| | | | | | |
| 3:00 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 3:10 pm “(X)… speaks to you” | | | | 50’ (D) | |
| | | | | | |
| 4:00 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 4:10 pm Chamber Music | | 50’ | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 5:00 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 5:10 pm Jazz | | 50’ | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 6:00 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 6:10 pm Advice | 10’ | | | | |
| 6:20 pm Music | | 10’ (Slow) | | | |
| 6:30 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 6:40 pm Reports | 20’ | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 7:00 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 7:10 pm La R… | 15’ | | | | |
| 7:25 pm “The Daily Ticket” | | | | | 5’ (Humor) |
| 7:30 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 7:40 pm Music | | 10’ | | | |
| 7:50 pm “Brain Trust” | | | | | 5’ (Humor) |
| 7:55 pm “What he could not say” | | | | | 5’ (Humor) |
| | | | | | |
| 8:00 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 8:10 pm Editorial | 5’ | | | | |
| 8:15 pm Variety | | | | | 15’ (Variety) |
| 8:30 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 8:40 pm Variety | | | | | 20’ (Variety) |
| | | | | | |
| 9:00 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 9:10 pm Drama | | | 50’ Montage (D) | | |
| | | | | | |
| 10:00 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 10:10 pm Variety | | | | | 50’ (Variety) |
| | | | | | |
| 11:00 pm News | 10’ | | | | |
| 11:10 pm Émission de Minuit | | | 50’ Mix (M.D.L) | | |
| | | | | | |
| 12:00 am News | 10’ | | | | |
| 12:10 am *Marseillaise* | | | | | |

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